

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Politician Is a

CITIZENS who have never had to endure politicians like Crump of Memphis, the Longs of Louisiana, Curley of Boston or the less exactly identifiable pirates who have preyed on Philadelphia these many years sometimes wonder whether such creatures aren't just figments of the imaginations of "reformers."

Mrs. Ruth Huston Whipple, a public-spirited citizen of Plymouth, Michigan, who studied political science and has spent her post-college years demonstrating what a good politician should be, wrote the REVIEW recently:

I could not get along without the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, even though I do not agree with all of your conclusions about county government and politicians. The past month I have reviewed the past seven magazines carefully, and would like to know what your definition of a *politician* is. If I did not know any more about government and politicians than I read in the REVIEW, I would think that a politician was any one who did not operate under a *city manager* or *county manager* form of government. What do you mean by the word *politician* which appears so frequently in your editorials and articles?

The enclosed check is for my annual dues and for a copy of a *Model City Charter*.

Well, Mrs. Whipple, it's like this. Your state of Michigan is one of those areas with a tradition of non-partisan local elections. They say anyone who attempts to inject ob-

You Know What

vious partisan angles is likely to be smacked down abruptly by the voters.

But, Mrs. Whipple, things are not so rosy everywhere. There are lots of places where it's pretty tough to get citizens like you to run for the city council. They fear that the fellow-citizens might begin to consider them politicians even before they get the hang of their jobs.

Another thing. When some of your state legislators are caught with their fingers you sic the sheriff or a future governor on them and you spread the story all over page one of your newspapers. At the very time your state was cheering the punishment of venal legislators, however, another state hushed up the grabbing of public money by its legislators and the newspapers, after a mild "tut-tut," turned their attention to pleasanter news.

Yes, the REVIEW is happily aware of the fact that there are good politicians as well as bad politicians. The REVIEW feels that what the country needs is more politicians; indeed, to make this a real, sure-enough self-governing system, everyone ought to be something of a politician. That is, he ought to go around to his neighbors' front porches of an evening and discuss public issues and candidates. He ought to learn enough about candidates, especially those running for local office, to want to support or oppose them.

You demand a definition of the word "politician." *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* says:

pol'i-ti'cian (pōl'i-ti'sh'an), n. **1.** One versed or experienced in the science of government. **2.** One addicted to, or actively engaged in, politics as managed by parties; often, one primarily interested in political offices or the profits from them as a source of private gain.

That's O.K. with the REVIEW. The No. 1 variety seems to have an unerring tendency to associate with such advanced ideas as the council-manager plan. No. 2 usually clings to the *status quo* or, more likely, the *status quo ante*. Anything that was good enough for grandpa is good

enough for him—except, of course, for automobiles, refrigerators and other appurtenances of the comfortable life.

It isn't the REVIEW's fault that politician has become something of a swear word in the vocabulary of the common man. Maybe you Michiganders will lead other people into sweeter pastures or develop a better word. Please try. After all, it's a caution what's been happening to a lot of choice words like democracy, free elections, people's government and freedom.

Come to the National Conference on Government in Boston, November 22, Mrs. Whipple, and you'll meet a lot of other No. 1 politicians.

1948

National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League

Boston, November 22, 23, 24

Conference Headquarters—Hotel Statler

(Make reservations early; write directly to hotel. Be sure to say you are attending the Conference.)

The Rape of New Orleans

Huey Long's brother, in vengeful attack on reform mayor, hands city back to the spoilsman and imperils its future

By LENNOX L. MOAK and HELEN R. MOAK*

LIKE an iron-handed dictator punishing a captured city, Governor Earl K. Long of Louisiana has battered proud New Orleans to her knees and undone the work of a generation to lift the great southern metropolis from the clutches of political plunderers.

"We'll improve on everything Huey did," cracked the new governor as buttermilk and hot dogs were dispensed to the multitude that came to his inaugural to see him pick up the scepter that fell from his late brother's lifeless hands.

What he meant by "improve" soon became evident as he forced a servile legislature to toe the line. He vengefully lashed out at New Orleans' young reform mayor, deLeseps "Chep" Morrison; and before he had completed his punishment of one political enemy he had with probably unprecedented thoroughness set the stage for handing the city back to political spoilsman, impeding its progress for years to come

*Mr. Moak is executive director of the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans and special consultant on local government to the Louisiana Law Institute. He has been with the New Orleans bureau since 1938 and prior to that time was active in governmental affairs in Port Arthur, Texas. Until recently Mrs. Moak was assistant to the director of public relations at Tulane University. Previously she was research assistant in a comprehensive survey of New Orleans public schools. She has long been active in the League of Women Voters in New Orleans.

and imperilling its economic and civic future. While directed primarily at Mayor Morrison, these blows are being felt by all the city's half million people, including the majority of the voters supporting the Long ticket.

He distorted the city's administrative system into a fantastic, unworkable mess. He undermined city service. He knifed the non-political and efficient control of port facilities. He deprived the city of badly needed revenues and at the same time increased her financial obligations.

All this was done—in a series more than two hundred bills covering everything from the pay of firemen to responsibility for dog catching—in the face of strong citizen opposition at legislative committee hearings. Efforts were made to have the legislation submitted to a local referendum but the legislature refused. Only those proposals embodied in constitutional amendments will be voted upon and then by the electorate of the entire state.

It is a situation reminiscent of another rape of the city conducted by brother Huey. In the early 1930s when T. Semmes Walmsley was mayor and opposing Huey, the state forced through numerous tax reductions and charter changes.

Finally, in 1936, with bankrupt proceedings against the city pending in the federal courts and with many departments cut to skeleton force-

Mayor Walmsley resigned and Robert S. Maestri, a lieutenant of Huey, was appointed in his place. Mayor Maestri was subsequently re-elected in 1942 but defeated by "Chep" Morrison in the last mayoralty elections of 1946.

Legislature Controls City

To understand the vulnerability of New Orleans to such attacks it is necessary to realize that the city has long been one of the storm centers around which Louisiana politics revolve. The city operates under a hodgepodge of state constitutional provisions and special legislation usually passed under the guise of "classification" of cities for legislative purposes, with New Orleans, of course, always in a separate class from other cities and parishes.¹ While some of the local governmental agencies enjoy some constitutional protection against a hostile legislature and governor, the central city-parish government is under a special legislative charter, subject to repeal or alteration at the whim of the legislature.

Four major lines are being used in the present attacks upon the city: politicalization of port facilities, change from a commission to a modified commission-aldermanic form of city government, precipitation of a financial crisis and disruption of civil service.

From a long range point of view perhaps the most important action is the proposed amendment to put the

port of New Orleans back into politics. Public ownership and operation of the port were achieved at the end of the century as a step toward development of the port to its full capacity as a favorable factor in the economic development not only of New Orleans but also of Louisiana and the whole Mississippi Valley.

The fulfillment of this ideal, entrusted to a state board located in the city, has proceeded at an irregular pace. It has depended on whether the state administration in power regarded it as an important economic outpost or as a fertile source of political patronage and a device to dispense political favors to shippers who were "right."

In the past eight years, however, there has been a sincere effort by forward-looking citizens of all factions to remove the management of the port from partisan politics. Since 1940 this objective has been largely achieved through various devices to insure the selection of a board of port commissioners without regard to political affiliation and to protect them in their positions.

Confidence in the port and its future were being built up at an accelerating pace at the time of the last election—a confidence reflected in the establishment of a foreign trade zone in New Orleans and in the substantial increase in the volume of business channeled through the port.

The last legislature, however, submitted a constitutional amendment which, if adopted in November, can return the port to its status as a political football. It would place con-

¹Indicative of this is an act of the recent legislature wherein the author felt impelled to say that the law would apply to "all parishes, including Orleans."

trol of the port's board of commissioners in the hands of the governor, remove the restriction against members of the board holding political or other public office, remove the constitutional requirement that members be experienced in the commerce or industry of the port area, and abolish a special commission provided to hear evidence pending removal of a member.

Form of Government Changed

The second line of attack, changing the form of government and limiting the city's powers, was accomplished by a series of legislative acts. Chief of these is the change from a five-man commission form of government composed of a mayor and four commissioners elected at large to an eight-man council, all, excepting the mayor, to be elected from districts commencing in 1950. These districts vary so widely in population and registered vote that per capita representation of the smallest will be almost eight times that of the largest. Each commissioner will be head of an administrative department as well as a member of the governing body.

Departments are supposed to function on a city-wide basis, but favoritism in the performance of municipal functions and horse-trading among commissioners will be inevitable. The power of the mayor is reduced to almost zero; he will be little more than the ceremonial head of the city. Furthermore, the election districts correspond to those from which the already politically impregnable seven assessors are elected, thereby virtual-

ly insuring their domination of councilmen.

Without doubt the legislature has combined in this act all the worst features of the aldermanic and commission forms of government. It will be a form untried in any major American city. Indications are for the poorest government both structurally and functionally in New Orleans' history—and that is a record difficult to attain!

The legislature also revoked the right of the city commission to shift a commissioner from one department to another when it appeared to be in the public interest, a right held by the commission for the past 36 years. This act was passed solely for the protection of one of the present commissioners who supported the governor in the last election and who has consistently used his office to block Mayor Morrison's programs.

The third line of attack will bring almost immediate difficulties to the city. A drastic cut in the city's revenues, coupled with some mandatory increases in expenses, will soon precipitate an acute situation if not a real crisis in the operation of municipal services.

During its campaign for election in 1946, the present city administration promised to halve the city sales tax; in the face of rising costs, however, it soon found this impractical if services were to be carried on at reasonable levels. Therefore, when Earl Long promised a cut of the city's 2 per cent sales tax in his campaign, many persons did not take it too seriously—especially city employees who supported him and who

now face loss of jobs because of that reduction. By this cut the legislature has reduced the city's general revenues by 25 per cent. Several other revenue changes were effected and, while their net result is a slight increase, they in no wise make up for the major loss from the sales tax cut.

This cut has afforded New Orleans taxpayers no real relief since they now must pay increased state sales taxes and more gasoline, beer, liquor, tobacco and severance taxes.

Mandatory increases in expenses range from increases in the number of state courts and salaries of judicial personnel to increased support for a local trades school. They vary from more support of unsound and indefensible fire and police pension systems which permit retirement at the early age of 41 to shorter hours and more pay for firemen.

Final calculations as to increased mandatory costs are not yet made, but it appears they will run to well over 6 per cent of the total budget while revenues are being cut.

The fourth major attack has been disruption of state and city civil service systems.

Merit System Out

In 1940 Louisiana adopted two of the best merit system laws in the nation, one for the state and one for New Orleans. Passed at a time when public employees were forced to engage in political activities for the faction in power, to contribute for political expenses through a scheme of "deducts" from pay envelopes, and to subscribe to political newspapers, these systems for the first time established safeguards for em-

ployees and laid the basis for a professional public service.

The 1948 legislature effectively annihilated state civil service despite specific written pledges by the governor and two-thirds of each house of the legislature during the campaign to sustain the civil service laws and repel efforts to politicalize public employment. The murder of the merit law was brazenly committed despite vigorous protests from Catholic, Protestant and Jewish church leaders, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. labor groups, merchants, almost every civic organization in the state and a host of plain citizens.

The only proponents of the "ripper" bill at a full dress house committee hearing were its author, who freely admitted that he preferred the spoils system to the merit system, and another representative who, although he had signed the pledge to support civil service, now protested that it was "unfair" to exact such a pledge from a candidate during a campaign. Since the bill was passed, the entire state civil service commission and its professional director have resigned in protest.

For the city the axe has been slower in falling—doubtless because of the desire to keep political patronage out of the hands of the present city administration by continuing on the books an effective city civil service law. Nevertheless, even here the hand of the spoilsman is exposed in one act which exempts unskilled labor from civil service provisions.

It is significant that most of the unskilled labor positions are under

(Continued on page 432)

Defeat Comes to Boss Crump

*Victorious citizens follow successful 'revolution' with
vow to secure council-manager government for Memphis*

By RICHARD WALLACE*

TTENNESSEE is free. In a brilliant primary campaign the people have snatched their state from the control of Boss Ed Crump.

Crump, the last of the big-city bosses, was driven back into the confines of his own home, Memphis, on August 5. He has no power anywhere else in the state—for the first time in a quarter-century.

And on August 6 — while the Crump machine was still dazed by the decisive statewide licking it received the day before—Crump received notification that he no longer holds undisputed control in Memphis.

The Shelby County (Memphis) Citizens Committee, which successfully supported Estes Kefauver's United States senatorial candidacy, announced that instead of disbanding after the campaign, as it had originally planned, it has decided to become a permanent citizens organization dedicated to good government.

It announced a five-point program for the future, including a "gradual transition" in Memphis to the "non-political" council-manager form of government.

*Mr. Wallace is a member of the editorial staff of the Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, a Scripps-Howard newspaper. He was born in Mississippi but has lived in Memphis most of his life. He spent over four years in the army during World War II, ending up as chief of the Office of Technical Information of the Provost Marshal General's Office in Washington.

“Revolution” is the only word to describe what happened in Tennessee this year. It was a peaceful revolution for the most part, wrought by political amateurs. The Crump machine took its licking with a minimum of violence. There was only one fist fight at the polls in Memphis. Over in Polk County in East Tennessee the Burch Biggs wing of the Crump machine went down more violently. Three were killed and several injured.

The victory was definitely a people's victory—enough to give encouragement and renewed faith in democracy to free people everywhere.

Here's how it all happened.

The first ingredients in this political upheaval were two outstanding men who were willing to offer themselves in candidacy against the Crump machine. They were Estes Kefauver, who has represented Tennessee's third district (Chattanooga) in the U. S. House for the past ten years, running for the Senate, and Gordon Browning, a former governor and veteran of both world wars, running for governor.

Kefauver is a young man—he celebrated his 45th birthday by attending the opening of the special session of Congress on July 26—but he has achieved a national reputation in the House. He was voted on as one of the nation's outstanding congressmen by the Colliers Award Committee in

946. He is co-author of *Twentieth century Congress*, and one of the leaders in the fight to modernize congressional procedures.

Browning is 58. He is a former congressman from Tennessee's old tenth district. The Crump machine jumped on his bandwagon the first time he ran for governor in 1936. He was elected and immediately inaugurated the most sweeping reforms Tennessee has ever had. He was in office only a matter of months before he and Crump had a fiery break and they have been bitter enemies ever since. Following one term as governor, he served as a chancery judge in his home district of Huntington, Tennessee, until the outbreak of World War II when he entered the army and was assigned to the Military Government branch. He served for some time on General Eisenhower's G-5 (Military Government) staff and in various other military government posts. For his work, he was decorated by five allied governments.

Independents Buck Machine

These two men—Kefauver and Browning—were the great white hopes of the independent forces in Tennessee. Both responded nobly.

Kefauver was first to enter the race. He announced his candidacy last November. When he did, the practical politicians looked on and said that he didn't have a chance. They explained that he had broken the first political rule. "It's over eight months before election day," they explained. "No candidate can maintain interest for that long a period."

However, Kefauver told his friends he had a reason for the early announcement. "I'm not well known to the average voter outside my own district," he said. "I want time to get acquainted."

Kefauver began a "get acquainted" tour. Before June he had visited every one of Tennessee's 95 counties and nearly every municipality in the state. On these visits he took his candidacy straight to the people. He talked to the small town merchant in his store, to the filling station operator at the corner, to the bricklayer on the job, to the farmer in the field. He never dodged a question or an issue. Some of his friends used to say, "You're too frank, Estes. Remember you're running for office." But Kefauver never stopped being frank. He said: "The people have a right to know what I stand for."

Early in the game, Kefauver broke another rule of the Tennessee practical politician. For years, all those candidates running for office without the support of the Crump machine avoided Memphis like a plague. They would spend all their time in the rest of the state, hoping to amass a sufficient majority to overcome one of the famous Crump majorities in Memphis.

Not so Kefauver. He first came to Memphis one snow-covered day in January and began "getting acquainted" with the people in Mr. Crump's front yard. His record and his candidacy inspired a group of outstanding Memphis business and professional men to proclaim a "declaration of independence," so to speak, announcing that they had

formed a citizens committee to support Kefauver.

The Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, a Scripps-Howard newspaper edited by able Edward J. Meeman who had never bowed to the Crump dictatorship, had said for years that ten men with a stake in the community and established reputations, standing together, could beat the Crump machine. As it turned out, it took only seven to do it. These are the seven:

W. M. Barr, paint specialties manufacturer, a veteran of World War II;

O. D. Bratton, lumberman, president of one of the country clubs;

Lucius Burch, attorney and sportsman;

Edwin Dalstrom, wholesale paper company manager, long active in civic work as a boy and girl scout leader;

Dr. Henry Gotten, physician and secretary of the Memphis and Shelby County Medical Society;

Edmund Orgill, president of a 100-year-old wholesale hardware firm that bears his name, former president of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce and Memphis Rotary Club;

J. Charles Poe, lumberman and a former state commissioner of conservation.

You will notice that the names of committee members are listed alphabetically. That's the way they always wanted it. They were always a team working together, with no member ever trying to grab the ball and the spotlight to run for a touchdown.

In any other city in the nation, perhaps, the formation of such a

committee would have been routine. But in Memphis it was sensational news. Throughout the state it gave renewed hope to free men who had lost hope through the years adopting an attitude of "what's the use in working? We'll be snowed under by the Memphis vote."

The Kefauver committee was followed shortly by the announcement of a Memphis committee for Browning. It, too, was composed of top notchers. There was Robert Taylor, young attorney, war veteran and grandson of a former below Tennessee senator; Gilmer Richardson, realtor, former president of the Tennessee Association of Real Estate Boards; Henry Buck, terminal superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad; Rembert Moon, Shelby County farmer, and L. V. Booth, a veteran and contractor.

Machine Smears Opponents

The Crump machine ran its campaign in the style of traditional bossism. Full page newspaper advertisements were bought throughout the state in attempted smears of both Kefauver and Browning. Speakers took to the stump in Memphis with personal attacks against the members of the Kefauver and Browning committees. Thousands of dollars were spent on radio time used in demagogic attacks on the candidates and their supporters.

The Kefauver and Browning committees and the candidates refused to be drawn off into side excursions and issues. They conducted their campaigns on a high level. Meanwhile, thousands of Memphians, who had been afraid before to tackle the

machine, joined in behind the leadership of these men. They ran a campaign such as Memphis has never seen before. Speakers worked from dawn to midnight. They were present at the change of shifts of such vast industrial plants as the Firestone works, International Harvester and the railroads. As many as twenty rallies and speakings a night were scheduled during the closing days of the campaign.

The women and young people became inspired and joined in. The Memphis League of Women Voters ran a voters' school nightly for six nights in which the rights and duties of voters, watchers and election officials were explained. The Kefauver-Browning committees joined forces and ran a watchers' school to take up where the voters' school left off.

Election day dawned clear and beautiful and the usual intensive Tennessee August heat beat a retreat in the face of a cool breeze. A record vote was polled. In Memphis the Crump machine plastered the polling places with cards and sample ballots advising the citizenry to vote for Jim McCord for governor and Judge John Mitchell for senator. Never had the machine's ward workers been out in such numbers on election day, wearing the lapel banners of the organization. They were composed mostly of city and county employees and their families who were forced to be present and contractors and their families who thought it a good idea to do so.

Crump mounted bands on trucks, in good old nineteenth century political boss style, and sent them

around from polling place to polling place to serenade the folks while advising them to vote the straight Crump ticket.

All in all, those wearing the machine banners outnumbered the Kefauver-Browning supporters, but those independents, mostly women, sat stubbornly by the ballot boxes all day long, saying over and over again, "I challenge that vote because . . ." Since they had attended the voters' and watchers' schools, they always were able to add: "The law says . . ."

These people were heckled in many instances. In many places their day's work was made as unpleasant as possible. But they stuck to those ballot boxes all day and until the count was completed. Night was greying into dawn as the last tired watcher relaxed.

Defeat for Crump

The results amazed even the watchers. One told how she had sat in discouragement all day long as 90 per cent of the people who voted stopped by the ward boss, who was serving as election officer, slapped him on the back and said: "How are we doing John?"

"I figured the box was overwhelmingly machine," she said, "but I determined that I would stick to my place and not let them count any more than they actually got."

But when the votes were counted —the box actually went for Kefauver and Browning. The people had slapped the ward boss on the back but in the secrecy of the voting booth had cast their ballots against his side.

All those wearing the machine lapel streamers didn't have their heart in it, another watcher found out. As the polls closed the election officer said: "Well, let's take a stretch and have a coke before counting." Everyone arose and relaxed, including the Kefauver-Browning watcher who drifted over toward the door. One of the people wearing a machine streamer passed in front of the watcher and slipped him a note. The note read: "Don't leave that ballot box!"

The watcher returned.

The result was a clean-cut victory for both Browning and Kefauver. The Crump candidate for governor, a two-termer running for his third term, had made a rather creditable record for a Crump governor, but still he carried only a handful of counties.

What happened in Tennessee this August was a completion of what had been begun in Athens in McMinn County in August 1946, when a group of returned GI's beat the Cantrell wing of the Crump state machine at the polls and then, when

the machine tried to rob them at the count, beat them with gunfire.¹ Ever since then, every time a segment of the state machine has gone to the polls it has been beaten until now it remains.

The result is that Tennessee is entering a new era. You can expect Browning, in the governor's office, to lend the prestige of that office and his leadership toward revision of the state's antiquated constitution; toward a reform of the state's institutions; toward a reestablishment of the merit system he began ten years ago. In Memphis you can expect the citizens committee to work on toward the establishment of a council-manager government and toward the other points in its program which include an effective civil service program for all county and city employees, a "Little Hatchet Act" for those employees, permanent registration and the adoption and use of voting machines.

¹See "Tennessee County Mixes Bullets and Ballots," the REVIEW, September 1946, page 435.

It's a Habit Now in Dayton

Political strife becomes virtually extinct as voters continue to elect 'citizen' candidates to city council.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

DAYTON in 1913 was the first city of over 8,000 population to adopt the council-manager plan. Its elected council of five (still called commission) acts as a board of directors, meeting once a week to sponsor and oversee the city manager, who coordinates and directs all other municipal employees.

Dayton did more than take over the short ballot feature of the commission plan—it shortened the ballot further, providing, uniquely, for biennial election of two of the five at one time and three at the other, for four-year terms. The high man of the three becomes chairman of the council, with the title of mayor. Thus the city ballot is ideally short — though an Englishman, who never votes for more than one office at a time and at three-year intervals, might call it confusing.

Dayton conducts other elections on the same day, however, choosing three—or four—members of the school board and municipal judges, using several separate paper ballots. Thus in 1945 there were four little ballots covering twenty offices, including one for three city commissioners. Of these offices the commissioners usually, but not invariably,

attract the heaviest vote, in accordance with their relative powers and importance. The theory of the short ballot thus does not get ideal play; the candidates for the commission are less solitary and conspicuous than the plan of government is intended to provide.

In Dayton's history contests for the commission have frequently been tame, even perfunctory, with no more than a third of the voters going to the polls. In such years, if the commissionerships had been the only offices up for election, the turnout might have been even smaller.

The situation reflects the fact that there are commonly no issues, no outs disparaging the ins, making charges and countercharges or trying to capture patronage. There is an incumbent or two up for reelection and a new nominee sponsored by the Citizens' Committee on the nonpartisan ballot, all good men. And there is a scatteration of self-nominated independents most of whom do not qualify at the primary election for a place on the ballot at the final election, and who almost never get elected. And there's nothing in sight to stir anybody's emotions.

There may be a cooling element in the fact that when two commissioners are to be elected they won't alter the balance in the council since three others hold over; and when three are to be elected, one or two are

*Mr. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, recently retired from business to devote his full time to civic affairs. He is chairman of The Citizens Union of New York and of the Institute of Public Administration.

incumbents up for reelection and fairly sure of it, so no earthquake is in sight. So the campaign frequently fails to make the first page of the newspaper from day to day.

No Complaints!

That Dayton has been well governed could, of course, be a legend waiting for some explosion of disillusionment, but if so the town is mightily fooled. There just isn't any complaint! Dishonesty in the city hall is as unthinkable as in a bank. Last year the city employed Griffenhagen and Associates to make an efficiency survey of the city services to look for chances to improve techniques. The Griffenhagen staff ransacked all departments for six months and offered some ideas, but they picked up one for themselves, for they volunteered this: "The city has an honest administration. Not once in the course of our studies here has the staff encountered even the slightest indication to the contrary. . . . Few cities are as free of what is best understood under the label of political pressure." And the mild mannered *Dayton News*, a Democratic newspaper, in an editorial on the outcome of the 1945 election, remarked: "Dayton has enjoyed 30 years of unbroken honest government."

Fred O. Eichelberger, then city manager, started for his office one day in 1946 and discovered that Dayton was starting to celebrate "Eichelberger Day," it being, as he learned, the 25th anniversary of his induction as city manager. In a floral scene in the city hall he was given a watch, a scroll, a handsome volume

of letters of praise collected by the Chamber of Commerce and, of course, an earful of speeches. There were fifteen other city managers who in that year had served a single community for 25 years or more, but they were all in little places; Dayton had another "first" among the large cities.

When Eichelberger resigned to retire in January 1948, he drove off to Florida in a new Cadillac, but there were no lifted eyebrows about that for it was a surprise gift from a lot of Dayton citizens. Eichelberger has been a patient, diligent, thoroughly informed, self-effacing city manager who advised the council and deferred to its rare adverse decisions with unruffled serenity whether he agreed or not, executing them faithfully. A former mayor observes that the question of displacing Eichelberger for a new manager just never was brought up.

So I went to Dayton to see how a city of 260,000 has gotten along without partisan politics or ruckuses through eighteen successive elections putting into the council an unbroken succession of good men and true who have given the town good government for 34 years.

Eighteen elections is too many to report on, but the outstanding fact is that few of them were heated or bitter; really pretty dull!

In 1913 the proponents of the new charter, headed by the vivid and eccentric John H. Patterson of the National Cash Register Company kept their momentum after they secured adoption of the charter by forming a balanced committee to sup-

port selected candidates, and elected them. They spent considerable money—in the neighborhood of \$20,000—in the campaign, and the Democratic and Republican party managements, recognizing that the voters had adopted nonpartisan elections, forebore to throw their weight.

Off to Good Start

The first council included businessmen, a labor union officer and lawyers, and it promptly made a hit with history by finding for its pioneer manager Henry M. Waite, former city engineer of Cincinnati, who was one big man in any company. Big, gentle, soft-spoken and wise, he made the Dayton government a warm and human service. In later years he built the great Cincinnati railroad terminal and the Chicago subway, and his example in Dayton set the pace for the new profession.

In 1917 three members of the council were to be chosen. The Socialists organized aggressively and the Democratic party workers threw their weight for certain nominees.

The Citizens' Committee, favoring reelection of the three incumbents and undistracted continuation of a remarkable administration, put on a hard campaign and spent \$23,000, mostly on printed and stereoptican publicity, to expound the achievements of those first four years which had won Dayton a national reputation. In the three-cornered primary fight they ignored the Socialists and set out to beat the Democrats, resulting in a combined vote of 20,545 for the three incumbents and 10,164 for the three Democrats. But the

Socialists mustered 29,162 for their trio, three times their normal vote.

The eliminated Democrats, as expected, joined with the Citizens' Committee against the Socialists in the final election, and the novelty introduced by the possibility of a Socialist victory alerted the electorate, produced another \$27,000 of campaign funds and brought out a bigger vote, of which the Socialists got 43 per cent. About \$3,000 of the campaign money went to Democratic and Republican precinct workers.

The claim of a Socialist newspaper that its party's local growth rose from its anti-war attitude stirred up the Americanism issue, and much of the hysteria and heat of the final campaign dealt with issues that were extraneous and momentary. The heavy expenditures for publicity went largely to combat a shocking stream of sneering mendacity from the Socialist campaigners. City employees were successfully restrained from participating in the campaigns. The Democratic party never tried again.

In 1919, and on into the 20's, incumbents who had shared the glory of those early years were reelected by a Citizens' Committee, against scattering opposition, with ease. When new nominees had to be found the Citizens' Committee would tag some citizen and relieve him of the necessity of nominating himself or raising campaign funds.

The Citizens' Committee, of course, catered to the diverse elements of the population—the Catholics, the unions, the two sides of the river, and the Democrats and the Republicans. It balanced the council

to keep it representative, and as long as both parties had some members of the council, the two party managements stayed out of the picture. But a new nominee was checked with the leader of each party and with the editors of the two leading dailies, and it is a fair guess that all four of those persons voted for every nominee of the Citizens' Committee.

No Need for Excitement

The committee's original membership of 50 dwindled to ten. So did the campaign funds — they became nominal amounts in some years—and all that the candidates of the committee did in some years was to accept invitations to speak at various club or civic meetings. It was not waning vigor or alertness—there was no need to do more. The Citizens' Committee candidates pooled their efforts in such ways as taking pains to support each other in the course of their speeches. Advertising was pooled and a single expenditures report was filed as required with the board of elections.

Thus they frequently survived the primary election easily and faced the highest of scattered independent and Socialist candidates at the final election without much fear except the hazards of a light vote.

Light votes—30 per cent—were frequent, but there were flurries and ructions. Dayton is an industrial city and so has some Socialist and radical labor elements which from time to time have flared into brief numerical importance. In 1921 in a light primary vote the three Socialist candidates reached the final elections and thereby alerted and alarmed the

rest of the town, which raised and spent \$20,000 and beat them by a substantial majority.

In 1933, amid the irritations of the depression, a labor leader named Breidenbach, with alarming manners and a tough attack, mustered the discontented and survived the primary. A few days before the election the *Dayton Herald* switched its support to him and he was elected. He became, in time, a useful and cooperative member in the council, but during the process he was disturbing and stormy.

When Breidenbach ran for another term without Citizens' Committee support, in 1939, there were only three candidates in the field. The *News*, in characterizing the two Citizens' Committee candidates, said: "Speice is understood to have Republican Chairman Brower's endorsement. Munger, elected to the legislature as a Democrat, will doubtless attract, although this is no partisan matter, a heavy Democratic vote."

Breidenbach's supporters in the three-cornered contest must have had to refrain from voting for a second candidate. The election was lively and the vote was: Breidenbach, 25,527; Munger, 32,706; Speice, 25,958. The total list of registered voters was about 130,000 at that time and the 48 per cent turnout compared with 30 per cent in 1937.

In 1941 "the campaign was a quiet one." Two incumbents and one new man, all supported by the "Nonpartisan Good Government League," were elected by a two-to-one vote. The *News* commented: "It shows a profound confidence in Dayton's city

government, and what a relief to operate a city without partisan political campaigns!"

In 1943 only 30 per cent voted, with two to elect. Munger and Speice, Citizens' Committee choices, got 18,070 and 17,520 respectively; Smith, described as representing the CIO, got 11,615, and Beck, 9,270.

In 1945 large postwar bond issues, totalling \$25,000,000, were put on the ballot and brought unusual interest to the election. The "All-Dayton Committee," succeeding the Citizens' Committee, wanted some fresh blood in the council. In consultation, the Democratic leader objected to a suggested Democrat; the man was a Democrat all right, but not a registered Democrat! It seems a narrow point, but the committee deferred to it rather than risk a fight, the town nowadays being 60 per cent Democratic.

Party Leaders Consulted

In all such consultation with the party leaders, the deference to political opposition involved no trading or stipulations with party leaders; the latter kept out of the process of selection of nominees and dissent was rare. Obviously, the committee when it chose a Democrat needed to be sure that he could really draw Democratic votes, just as it would nominate a Catholic but make sure that the church rated him as a good one. The All-Dayton Committee published advertisements which were notable for their moderation of spirit and claims.

The 1947 campaign was described, however, as bitter. The All-Dayton Committee disappeared; this time it

was "Citizens' Committee to Elect Smith and Speice," there being two to elect this time. The CIO-PCA came to bat. Five organizers came in from out of town at the expense of the national organization and two leftist candidates were put up; one was a colored man and the other, a prominent CIO labor leader, was widely alleged to be, if not a Communist, at least a fellow traveler. Mr. Breidenbach, being AFL, turned up on the side of the current *ad hoc* Citizens' Committee. It was the left arraigned against the center and the right; the latter took alarm and heat again developed.

The radicals reported campaign expenditures of \$1,345, but that did not include the work of the outside organizers and CIO union officers nor the prodigal space given by the CIO newspaper. The Citizens spent \$8,331, which took no account of the fact that precinct workers of both the Republican and Democratic parties worked for their ticket and helped to bring out the vote. The Negro vote, which is extensive in Dayton, did not flock to the colored candidate.

On election day the radicals circulated handbills alleging that a 1 per cent payroll tax was to be imposed if the opposing ticket got elected, and the commission denied it as a barefaced lie.

The Citizens' Committee candidates, Smith, a first-time man, and Speice, running for his third term, got 51,631 and 50,410 votes; Sims, the CIO candidate, 19,942 and McLin, the Negro, 15,487. The *News* on the next day ran a cartoon pic-

turing city hall with a huge flag on it—"The American flag still flies over Dayton's city hall."

I asked two former commissioners to tell me just how they got into consideration for public office. Mr. Brennan, former mayor and chairman of the 1947 citizens' group, had been an assistant prosecuting attorney (appointive) and had once run unsuccessfully for probate judge. The Citizens' Committee persuaded him to run and he assented—"that's all!"

Dr. Kneisly's case was an odd one. He was a dentist, but his political availability lay in the fact that he was president of the Federated Improvement Associations whose constituent local groups totalled 22,000 members. The Citizens' Committee asked him to run, the fact that he was reluctantly considering it leaked out and he was jocularly hailed as mayor by his friends on the street.

The Citizens' Committee finally settled on other candidates and issued its endorsements without setting itself right with him; just why, Dr. Kneisly never learned. His friends resented the mishandling and proceeded to nominate him and, on the wave of their indignation, he beat the committee candidate in the primary and was elected. Four years later he ran again without Citizens' Committee support but lost in the primary election.

So down the years public-spirited citizens of Dayton, drawn admittedly from the well-to-do, successful people who participate in community chest drives and other unselfish endeavors, have always seen their nominees constitute a majority on

the commission. The \$8,331 the spent in 1947 under the radical attack was larger than normal; the campaigns often cost no more than \$3,000. They were like the nominating committee of a social club buttonholing a new man now and then to persuade him to take a tour of duty. They catered to the natural groups and kept the council balanced.

Being in good repute, with no axe to grind, they were true leaders, as shown by the fact that the people followed. They never attempted to mollify the Socialists of the 20's or the current radicals by putting one of them on their tickets, and very likely would have been unable to elect them if they had. After each election the committees fold up and shut up and make no attempt as a group to influence city hall.

Labor Issue

The AFL-CIO split extends to local politics and probably has diminished the concern the citizens have lest labor go solidly political on class lines; they cannot hope to cater successfully to that segment of labor and radicalism which wants all or nothing. Voters of Dayton come out and vote when there is an issue, as in 1947. In fact, the absence of issues in Dayton elections most of the time, except when the class struggle has lapped over into politics, can be proof of a real era of good feeling and mutual trust. "Happy is the land that has no history."

Commissioners in Dayton get a salary of \$1,200, and the chairman (mayor) receives \$1,800. The conditions of service obviously have

en attractive to men who would
ever take the relatively trivial po-
sitions of councilmen under a mayor-
and council plan or the full-time
vice as a departmental head called
by the commission plan because
they have business and professional
careers too important to interrupt.

Just how unique Dayton's 34-year
stretch may be is hard to say. Cer-
tainly there are cities with the older
forms of government, as well as
cities with managers, where decency
and serenity rule. But it is more
than a coincidence that since the
adoption of the council-manager plan
and citizenship has so easily and
consistently been effective in Dayton!

Will It Last?

How much longer can it go on so
easily? The factors to be watched
are: (a) the possibility of increased
class warfare and the arraying of
"workers" against the rest; (b) the
possibility of change in the news-
paper situation, all three of the dailies
now being almost invariably with the
citizens; (c) the fact that commun-
leaders are silenced to an increas-

ing degree by living now in growing
suburbs outside the city's political
boundary; (d) Dayton's new city
manager Russell E. McClure, former
manager of Wichita, may be less
successful than Eichelberger in avoid-
ing antagonisms; (e) another de-
pression may substitute an irritated
situation for the city's current thriv-
ing prosperity, with incidental reper-
cussions against the town's present
leadership.

If this story sounds like a pro-
longed domination of Dayton by its
businessmen, be it remembered that
the radical bloc gets every chance to
challenge; indeed, the political stage
is well cleared of false issues and well
illuminated for their efforts—but vot-
ers of Dayton have remained stolidly
unimpressed.

Leftist opposition to candidates of
the citizens' committees is not ex-
tended to include opposition to the
form of government. Once, in 1922,
reversion to the old form was pro-
posed by an initiative petition and
the Socialists cooperated in the de-
feat of the effort by a vote of 26,000
to 17,000.

They Like Los Angeles Plan

Taxpayers and officials feel that chief administrative officer idea has proved effective over ten years of u

By EARL R. STRATHMAN*

ON AUGUST 3, 1948, Los Angeles County celebrated the tenth anniversary of its chief administrative officer plan.

Ten years ago the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors took action on what is generally conceded to be the most significant development in the county's organizational structure since adoption of its 1913 charter when it voted unanimously to try a modified manager plan on a one-year experimental basis. It constituted a pioneering venture, for never before had the county manager idea been applied to so large a jurisdiction. Its operation has been so successful that no one now would question its permanency as an integral part of the county's administrative setup.

Provision for a county administrative officer was recommended in the 1935 report of the Committee on Governmental Simplification. Previously the California Commission on County Home Rule (1930) and the Committee on Administration of the Los Angeles Grand Jury (1933) had recommended a county manager.

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The chief administrative officer was initiated by ordinance, rather than by charter amendment, for one-year experiment. Because of success under the ordinance no concerted effort has been made to incorporate the plan into the charter. The ordinance established the following duties of the CAO:

- (1) To exercise administrative supervision and control over all departments, services, institutions and districts of the county; to coordinate their operations; and to administer, enforce and carry out the policies, rules, regulations and ordinances of the board relating to the administration of county affairs;
- (2) To analyze and make recommendations in connection with departmental budgets;
- (3) To supervise all expenditures and purchases of the county government;
- (4) To coordinate administration of all county services by having authority to transfer personnel, equipment, machinery, furnishings and supplies between departments;
- (5) To approve all purchase orders of \$1,000 or more and to approve contracts for supplies, services, equipment, etc., before presentation to the board of supervisors;
- (6) To recommend to the board the creation or abolition of any positions in the county service.

The only county departments

placed entirely under the chief administrative officer were those of the Sheriff, district attorney and assessor, all of which are headed by elective officials, and the civil service commission, the members of which are appointed by the board of supervisors in accordance with provisions of the county charter. The chief administrative officer is charged, however, with the duty of supervising and controlling the expenditures of these four departments.

Following is a list of powers and duties assigned to the chief administrative officer since the ordinance creating the position was adopted:

- (1) Approval of employment of additional employees by county departments required;
- (2) Four county committees eliminated and their responsibility for recommendations and reports placed with him;
- (3) He is made the public works coordinator;
- (4) All reports of county officers to be submitted to him and only those recommended by him to go to the board;
- (5) All recommendations on awards of contracts to other than the low bidder to be made to him;
- (6) All proposed legislation sponsored by department heads to be referred to him.

In addition to these added powers and duties the chief administrative officer is instructed to make studies and recommendations on practically all county activities. The board of supervisors instructs him to carry out many of the accepted recommendations.

Six administrative division heads now report directly to the CAO:

The assistant chief administrative officer, who serves in the absence of the chief administrative officer and carries out special assignments on budgets, legislation, bond issues, capital projects and related matters as required;

Four assistant administrative officers in charge of budgets, contracts and franchises, personnel, and public works capital projects;

The director of the division of administrative research.

County Research Agency

Formerly the department of budget and research, the division of administrative research continues as the county's official research agency reporting, as already noted, directly to the chief administrative officer. Here can be noticed the line of demarkation between research and administration. The division conducts surveys and studies of county operations and the administrative staff directly headed by the chief administrative officer uses these research findings in arriving at decisions. During the budget season the entire staff of the division of administrative research is assigned to work on the budget analysis.

Throughout the ten years of the chief administrative officer in Los Angeles County, the board of supervisors has followed very closely the recommendations of the CAO on the budget. He is, of course, careful in defining policy matters which are referred directly to the board of supervisors without recommendation. After the board adopts the final

budget for the fiscal year, the chief administrative officer is held responsible for maintaining budget controls throughout the year.

The chief administrative officer does not appoint any department heads. The county charter specifically provides that all county officers other than elective officials shall be appointed by the board of supervisors from an eligible civil service list. Department heads are given regular civil service status; however, there are many occasions when the board of supervisors requests the recommendation of the chief administrative officer.

The civil service commission conducts examinations and establishes an eligible list from which the board makes its appointments. Many examinations for department heads are promotional examinations in which only members of the department are eligible to participate. Many career men have been able to advance through the ranks to department heads. Los Angeles County has a reputation for fostering career men in its service.

No Appointive Power

The chief difference between the council-manager plan and the chief administrative officer idea is the lack of appointive power over department heads. In Los Angeles County, however, because of the human element involved and the precedent established in working arrangements, control over department heads by the chief administrative officer is quite complete.

After ten years it can safely be said that the chief administrative of-

ficer plan in Los Angeles County has passed all tests with flying colors. During these ten years World War II occurred with much war activity centered in Southern California. Along with the severe adjustments required to keep pace with the war effort great mass migration took place in the westward rush of people to Southern California. Los Angeles County is the fastest growing area in the world. Much of its growth took place during the war years. In 1920 its population was 936,000. In the next ten years, it more than doubled, reaching 2,200,000 in 1930. The estimated population for 1950 is 4,200,000, just about double the 1930 figure. The county's population in the last year has increased 10 per cent. Such rapid growth has brought many demands upon government.

Throughout these years the county has been faced with expanding activities and increasing governmental functions. In addition to carrying on regular county activities as an agency of the state, the county furnishes many municipal services to its 45 incorporated cities. It is estimated that it is performing 800 different functions at the present time.

The job of administering the affairs of a county with so many large scale activities is no small task. When the chief administrative office was established there were approximately 15,000 employees in more than 50 departments with an annual budget of \$80,000,000. As already said, the county is serving almost twice as many people with approximately 20,000 employees in 1948. The annual

udget adopted in June 1948, for the fiscal year 1948-49, totals \$189,50,000.

Wayne R. Allen, first chief administrative officer, is still acting successfully in that capacity. During the war General Allen, as he is known throughout the state, was given a leave of absence to serve as purchasing agent in the European theater and Alfred H. Campion served as acting chief administrative officer. General Allen's dynamic and forceful personality has been given credit for the unusual success of the Los Angeles County plan.

With a successful business background, General Allen feels that there should be more business in government. He has often said that business methods in government will make the tax dollar go farther.

Plan Found Satisfactory

Abraham Holtzman, who has just completed a comprehensive study of the office of the chief administrative officer, makes the following comments on the plan as it has operated in Los Angeles County:

"It is difficult to decide upon a valid set of criteria with which to measure the accomplishments of the CAO. There are no hard and fast rules for determining intangibles, and much of what has been accomplished cannot be measured by numbers or pictured on a graph. Savings in unit costs, often a valuable measurement, cannot be traced directly to the CAO's office except in a very few instances. The factors are too many and too variable.

"A positive, yet semi-subjective, measurement is an analysis of the

success of the office in terms of the conditions which brought about its establishment. Did the CAO meet the challenge of such conditions? Did the CAO improve the administrative functioning of county government? In terms of these factors, some valid analysis may be made.

"The board [of supervisors] is in complete favor of the plan as it has worked for the last nine years. 'In my opinion,' contends Supervisor Roger Jessup, 'this venture constituted the greatest single reform in the county government since the adoption of our charter in 1913.' Not all the supervisors would agree to such glowing terms, but all praise the work and value of the CAO. Among the administrative departments and in the staff agencies the view is held that the CAO has not only helped many of them operate better but that he has also greatly aided the departments in their relationship to the board. If tested, then, in terms of the degree of respect and confidence in which the CAO is held by his immediate superior, the board, and by his subordinates, the department heads, the result is quite favorable."

The chief administrative office as it has been established in Los Angeles County has actually become another form of government. The success of the plan has been such that twelve California counties now have or are considering a chief administrative officer. During the past year there have been 30 cities with a chief administrative officer, ten of which are in Los Angeles County. These ten are patterned on the Los

Angeles County plan. In the other twenty, scattered throughout the state, there are many variations in the actual practice of the plan. The CAO's of California have not been acceptable to the International City Managers' Association as city managers eligible for regular full membership.

A survey of cities adopting the chief administrative officer plan reveals that many of these officials become city managers and continue to function in much the same manner as previously. Some cities have moved on from chief administrative officers to fully empowered city managers, the progression being found easier to secure in two steps than in one long stride.

In summary it can be said that the chief administrative officer idea has succeeded in Los Angeles County. There has been little change in the philosophy which established the plan ten years ago. It has been tested and found adequate by both taxpayers and government officials in providing efficient and economical government.

THE RAPE OF NEW ORLEANS

(Continued from page 415)

the control of the city commissioner who has become a political supporter of the new governor and who is protected in the retention of his position by other legislation adopted during this session, certified to by the governor as "requiring immediate passage."

While these changes were being considered, Mayor Morrison broadcast an appeal to the legislature and to the people of the state on behalf of New Orleans. He said: "It is difficult to conceive that the legislature, whose function is to legislate constructively for the well-being of all of the people of Louisiana, would pass negative and restrictive acts against a city whose welfare means so much to the rest of the state."

He pointed out that: "The abridgment of the right of home rule in any one parish is a matter of serious concern to other parishes. The passage of punitive legislation against New Orleans would open the door for similar acts in any other parish and when the occasion demands."

What is being done to New Orleans today could be done to other American cities by a hostile state. Our cities, which now contain more than half the population, are achieving their destiny and solving their problems inherent in urban life. They must be freed from the legislature and governors who can impede their progress.

This can be achieved through strong home rule provisions in the basic law—essential freedom of local government as to structure, powers and fiscal affairs. Historically the strength of American democracy stems from virile local government close to the governed. This strength is essential and must be encouraged, not strangled, at a time when the whole concept of democratic control is being challenged.

News in Review

State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

States Debate

Constitutional Changes

Many Amendment Proposals Appear on November Ballot

PROPOSALS to change state constitutions, ranging from minor amendments to complete revision, are in various stages in a number of states, with popular votes to be taken on a considerable number at the November election.

A complete but unofficial revision of the Florida constitution has been prepared by the Florida State Bar Association's Constitution Committee. It has been printed and "offered to the people of Florida for study." The existing constitution of 1885 has been used as a basis, but many changes are proposed, among them the following: The former power of the legislature to establish or abolish municipalities at any time is removed; every law relating to a single county, municipality or other political subdivision must be local law subject to approval of a majority of the voters of the political subdivision affected.

Continuing appropriations for boards, commissions, etc., are abolished, and no appropriation law shall continue in effect for as much as three years.

Local units of government are permitted to consolidate or cooperate; consolidation to be only by majority vote in each unit.

A department of revenue is provided and methods of pre-audit and post-audit are prescribed. The controller and state treasurer would serve coordinate as directors of the department, the former heading a division of the

budget and the latter the division of collection.

An appointive state board of education is provided for.

A new system of only four types of courts—supreme, circuit, county and juvenile—is provided for, each judge to be appointed by the governor from three nominees of a special commission. A judge would hold office six years and then run for reelection on his record; if voted down he would be succeeded by another judge appointed by the governor. The chief justice is made the chief administrative officer of all courts of the state and is given an administrative assistant.

Legislative redistricting, if not done by the senate after each decennial census, is to be done by a commission comprised of the president of the senate, the speaker of the house and an appointee of the governor; and if the commission does not report within 30 days after the senate's adjournment the governor shall redistrict the state into 40 senatorial districts, in the manner otherwise provided.

Representation of counties in the house is made somewhat more in accordance with population.

California, Michigan

Subcommittees of the joint interim committee on legislative constitutional revision of the California legislature have been at work on various phases of revision, and a tentative coordinated draft of a complete revised constitution has been prepared by Norris J. Burke, the committee's general counsel, and submitted to all subcommittees.

Six constitutional amendments are

to be voted on in Michigan in November. The people will vote on calling of a constitutional convention to revise the constitution. Repeal of the sales tax diversion amendment, passed in 1946, providing for the return of one cent of the state sales tax to cities, villages, townships and school districts and an additional compulsory appropriation to school districts, is the subject of another amendment, which is opposed by the Michigan Municipal League.

Two other proposed amendments would permit the legislature to fix the salaries of senators and representatives, and also to fix salaries of constitutional elected or appointed executive officers (attorney general, secretary of state, etc.); these salaries are now determined by constitutional provisions. The fifth proposal would establish the line of succession in the event of death of a governor or governor-elect, as follows: lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, attorney general, state treasurer, auditor general. The sixth would liberalize bond issue requirements in connection with the fifteen-mill tax limit. The Michigan League definitely favors the last mentioned.

Oregon Amendments

Ten proposed amendments are to be voted on in Oregon in November. One would provide for elections on the question of establishing a new tax base in counties, municipalities and districts after the voters therein have authorized a tax levy in excess of the constitutional 6 per cent limitation for two successive years.

Others would authorize indebtedness for state reforestation, authorize a state boys' camp, amend the licensing and acquisition provisions of the hydroelectric commission act, fix the qualifications of voters in school elec-

tions, establish \$50 pensions for ne-
old persons, increase personal in-
tax exemptions, authorize the Ore-
Liquor Control Commission to is-
dispensing licenses to its licensed ho-
restaurants, clubs and passenger c-
mon carriers, authorize bonds for
veterans' bonus and prohibit sal-
fishing in the Columbia River w-
fixed appliances.

New Mexico will vote on six pro-
posed amendments. One requires
governor to call a special session of
legislature if three-fifths of the mem-
bers of each house certify that
emergency exists. Others permit
legislature to fix salaries of its em-
ployees, now under constitutional lim-
itation, prohibit the closed shop, fix ter-
ms of county officers at four years with-
reelection until after four years and
fix terms of state executive offic-
similarly, and establish succession
case of death of the governor or go-
nor-elect.

Washington County Home Rule

In the state of Washington six pro-
posed amendments will be on the
November ballot. One permits coun-
ties to adopt home rule charters. Anot-
her permits the legislature to fix the
salaries of elected state officials. A third
permits the formation, under a charter
of combined city and county municipi-
corporations having a population
300,000 or more (this would allow
Seattle and King County to con-
siderate). The last would repeal the con-
stitutional provision that makes county
officials ineligible to hold office more
than two terms in succession.

In Minnesota a constitutional com-
mission has been at work for some time
(see the July REVIEW, page 380). One
of its important committees, that of the
judiciary, recently submitted

al recommendations as to the courts. They include:

A supreme court, a district court and probate court to be established by constitutional provision; other courts with jurisdiction inferior to the supreme and district courts may be created by law, with special provision for juvenile court work; justice of the peace courts no longer required by constitutional mandate; an administrative council, to consist of the chief justice and certain representatives from other courts, the legal profession and the public; judges to be elected for term of six years; supreme, district and probate judges retire at 70; legislature may authorize retention of supreme court justices; supreme court clerk and state law librarian to be appointed by the court; district court clerks to be elected.

A proposal to the Maryland Legislative Council by William C. Walsh, former attorney general and head of a 1947 committee for more equitable representation in the legislature, would allow more legislators for the three most populous counties—Baltimore, Prince Georges and Montgomery—and prevent representation from becoming still more inequitable than at present. Each county is now entitled to two delegates in the assembly, with one more when population exceeds 18,000 and further additions up to a limit of six at 55,000 population or over. It was pointed out that at least eight counties will have increases in representatives after the 1950 census; but each of the three largest counties, with populations far beyond 100,000, and likewise each legislative district in the city of Baltimore, will continue to be limited to six delegates.

The Walsh proposal would freeze the number of delegates in small counties

and allow more delegates from the city of Baltimore and the three counties of largest population.

A Municipal Program Urged by New AMA Director

The new executive director of the American Municipal Association, Carl H. Chatters, who has succeeded Earl D. Mallory, has propounded a national program for municipal governments, in the hope that municipalities of all states can cooperate in furthering it, thereby helping to raise the status of municipal government in this country. A summary of important elements, which does not purport to be complete, is as follows:

1. Greater rights of home rule should be extended to all American cities.
2. Municipal government and municipal officials must command and receive public respect and public recognition.
3. Municipal government must be conducted at the lowest possible cost consistent with the number of activities and standards of service which the citizens require.
4. Each person should have a decent home.
5. Municipal life is satisfactory only when good transportation exists.
6. Municipal governments are entitled to sufficient revenue to finance the activities required of them by custom or law.
7. Municipal officials and employees should receive adequate compensation.
8. Municipalities should have the legal and statutory right to cooperate with one another by contract.
9. There must be a sympathetic and intelligent understanding between the municipal governments and the state governments.

Mr. Chatters was formerly executive director of the Municipal Finance Of-

ficers Association; he resigned to become chief of public finance for the U. S. Office of Military Government in Berlin; he was later comptroller of the Port of New York Authority, then professor of municipal administration and finance at Northwestern University, accepting the chairmanship of the political science department just before resigning to go with AMA.

States and Nation Fight Water Pollution

The new water pollution control act (public law 845) authorizes the federal government to help individual states control pollution of water courses by providing technical and financial aid.

A number of states have pollution control laws, usually enforced by the state health departments; but problems of pollution extend beyond state boundaries. The new law is the first specific nation-wide federal legislation aimed at reducing the present pollution and preventing further pollution of our streams.

The Public Health Service considers that the act will help to establish a systematic program of pollution control and abatement with the cooperation of state and interstate agencies. Under it the surgeon general, in co-operation with other federal agencies, state and interstate water pollution agencies, and the municipalities involved, is authorized to make joint investigations and to prepare or adopt comprehensive programs for eliminating or reducing the pollution of the nation's water courses.

The act authorizes the making of loans to any state, municipality or interstate agency for preparation of plans and construction of necessary works for the treatment of sewage or other wastes discharging into interstate waters. The loans can cover up

to one-third of the estimated cost (with a limit of \$250,000 per project) if included in a comprehensive program developed under the act.

The act provides for the authorization of up to one million dollars a year for the next five years to the Federal Security Agency, to be used as research and investigation grants to state and interstate water pollution control agencies. Another million dollars a year for the next five years is authorized by the Federal Works Agency to be granted to municipalities to aid them in paying for surveys preliminary to the construction of treatment projects approved for loans.

A ten-member Water Pollution Control Advisory Board is established by the Public Health Service to review the policies and program of the Public Health Service as undertaken under the authority of this act and to make recommendations to the surgeon general.

State Officials Form Highway Safety Committee

Formed as a cooperative effort of seven national organizations, the State Officials' National Highway Safety Committee has recently perfected its organization and established headquarters in the Barr Building in Washington. The organizations are: American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, American Association of State Highway Officials, Council of State Governments, International Association of Chiefs of Police, National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, Association of State and Territorial Health Officers and American Association of School Administrators.

The committee's chairman is Lee Richardson, president of the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators and director of the motor ve-

the division of the Michigan department of state.

A program of action for the states has been announced. State and local highway safety conferences are urged.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Statesville, North Carolina, (11,440) on August 14, voted overwhelming for adoption of the council-manager plan. The new form of government will go into effect July 1, 1949. **Lumberton** (5,803), in the same state, adopted the plan on June 14 by a three-to-one vote.

Ross Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, (10,827) has adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

The city of **Durant, Oklahoma**, (10,027) adopted a council-manager charter on June 29 by a vote of 874 to 627.

Voters of **Concordia, Kansas**, (6,255) adopted the council-manager plan on August 3 by a vote of 1,145 to 365.

Ellensburg, Washington, (5,944) adopted the council-manager plan on August 10 by a vote of 891 to 715.

The Weirton, West Virginia, *Daily Times* reports that **Weirton, Hollidays Cove, Marland Heights** and **Weirton Heights**, on April 1, 1947, voted to consolidate under a council-manager charter. The new government began operations on July 1, 1947. A similar proposal failed of adoption in 1940.

Titusville, Florida, (2,220) and **Cherokee, Oklahoma**, (2,553) and **Lake Alfred, Florida**, (920) have recently been added to the official manager list of the International City Managers' Association.

Citizens of **Beverly, Massachusetts**, have filed a petition with the city's board of aldermen asking that Plan E—optional law providing the council-manager plan with proportional representation for the election of city council and school board—be submitted to

referendum at the city election of December 14. Some 2,290 names were signed to the petitions; approximately 1,505 valid signatures are needed to place the matter on the ballot.

A charter revision study committee has been at work in **Westport, Connecticut**, by authorization of the town meeting. The *Westport Town Crier* is campaigning for the council-manager plan.

The board of directors of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York has directed that a study be undertaken to determine the need for, the feasibility of and the legal and political implications of a city manager plan for **New York City**. A committee has been appointed to direct the study, which will be carried on by the association's staff under the committee's direction.

A statute adopted by this year's legislature in **New Jersey** defers the tenure of office now enjoyed by city managers in that state until after a three-year trial period. The city council or other governing body is thus able simply to dismiss a manager unsatisfactory to it within the three-year period; thereafter dismissal must still be for cause. It is hoped that the change will stimulate the adoption of the council-manager plan by New Jersey municipalities. In signing the measure Governor Driscoll suggested that the question of tenure be considered by the commission that has been authorized to make a study of the various forms of municipal government in the state.

The **Cumberland, Maryland**, charter commission has been studying the council-manager plan.

Following a suggestion by the University of Maryland Bureau of Public Administration that **Takoma Park**, a Maryland suburb of Washington, D. C., would benefit from the council-manager

plan, three members of the municipal council stated that they favor the plan, with reservations.

Candidates of the **Savannah, Georgia**, Citizens Progressive League for the state legislature have pledged that if elected they will introduce a bill calling for a referendum in Savannah on adoption of the manager plan.

A civic committee in **Salem, Ohio**, is working for adoption of the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Delphos, Ohio**, has initiated a campaign for the manager plan as a result of dissatisfaction over recent municipal financing and the resignation of the mayor and the service director.

The charter commission of **Menominee, Michigan**, has expressed itself in favor of the council-manager plan by a narrow margin. Representatives of organized labor have expressed some opposition.

A proposed charter providing the council-manager plan, to be voted on December 6, is being completed by the **Wakefield, Michigan**, charter commission with the aid of the consultation service of the Michigan Municipal League.

Norway, Michigan, will vote on a council-manager charter, now being drafted by its charter commission, elected July 12, on November 2.

The charter commission of **Hillsdale, Michigan**, has decided that the new charter it will draft will call for the council-manager plan.

The city council of **Green Bay, Michigan**, has placed on the November 2 ballot a referendum on adoption of council-manager government; the city council of **Watervliet** has started an educational campaign looking toward a vote on the drafting of a council-manager charter in the near future;

Rochester (village) will vote on manager charter this fall.

A council-manager charter amendment submitted by the **Benson, Minnesota**, charter commission was defeated 412 to 245 at a special election on June 25.

Madison, South Dakota, abandoned the manager plan by a vote of 1,132 to 984 at an election on July 20. The plan had been adopted in 1947. It had the backing of prominent citizens and of business men generally. Its defeat was reported as being partly a matter of personalities and also resentment of city employees at the amount of work required of them by the manager.

Editorials favoring the manager plan have recently appeared in newspapers of **Huron** and **Mitchell, South Dakota**.

Petitions prepared by the mayor and city attorney, asking a November 2 vote on the manager plan, are being circulated in **Scottsbluff, Nebraska**.

Greenville, Texas, recently defeated a proposed council-manager charter by a vote of approximately 1,240 to 960.

Petitions calling upon the **Pueblo, Colorado**, city council to call a special election on the question of a charter convention have been found sufficient. They were sponsored by the Pueblo County Taxpayers Improvement Association in a further effort to secure adoption of the council-manager plan. Petitions previously filed to obtain the plan by charter amendment were thrown out on the score that a charter convention is necessary to effect change in the form of government.

A new and improved council-manager charter has been completed by the **Phoenix, Arizona**, charter committee and submitted to the city council. Mayor Nicholas Udall has placed before the council a strong-mayor charter. It is expected that both will be submitted to the voters at the same

ection. Phoenix has had a manager charter since 1914.

Burlington, Washington, has rejected the manager plan by a vote of 216 to 11. In **Kalama, Washington**, city officials have rejected a petition for a vote on the plan on the ground that there is not time to arrange the preliminaries.

The manager ordinance adopted last year in **Coquille, Oregon**, was rescinded on July 1.

Mrs. Dorothy M. Lee, new mayor of **Portland, Oregon**, favors the manager plan, which may be voted on in November.

The mayor of **San Luis Obispo, California**, has appointed a citizens' committee to revise the city charter. Strong sentiment in favor of the manager plan is reported.

A board of freeholders in **Santa Barbara, California**, has prepared a council-manager charter and has designated September 21 for a popular vote on the question. A council of seven is specified, to be nominated by the voters of each of the city's seven wards, but to be elected, one from each ward, by the voters of the city at large.

The board of directors of the **Santa Paula, California**, Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously to recommend to the city council the hiring of a manager. The action followed a study by the chamber's planning committee.

Problems of Metropolitan Chicago Receive Study

After numerous discussions on its campus, as well as in downtown Chicago, Northwestern University at Evanston has organized an interdepartmental committee to develop a program for study of the interests and problems of the metropolitan Chicago

area. The idea is to be given a year's trial. Aim of the program is to establish a center which would provide a meeting place for discussion and exchange of information, a special reference library, and a series of lecture conferences to be given by outstanding persons in selected fields of major concern to the area. The series is planned to run from October to June with one conference per month. A tentative list of subjects includes the following in their relation to metropolitan Chicago: the status of planning, local government, population problem, economic development, land use, tax delinquency, architecture and planning, urban development and redevelopment.

Court Ruling Aids Arizona League

The Arizona Supreme Court has decided that municipalities in that state can legally pay dues to the Arizona Municipal League. Some years ago, in *City of Phoenix v. Michael*, the court held to the contrary, and since then the league has functioned in such manner as it could under the resultant financial handicap.

The new decision ends litigation involving the city of Glendale and a taxpayer, Howard D. White, who challenged the legality of that city's contributing public funds to the league.

Justice Levi S. Udall wrote the court's opinion; he stated that a city should not be left in an "intellectual vacuum, bereft of the power to spend some of its funds in a reasonable effort to learn the manner in which complex municipal problems, arising from operations involving both its governmental and proprietary capacities, are being solved in sister cities of the state, thereby improving the quality of service to its own taxpayers."

Cities Urged to Aid International Union of Cities

The United States Conference of Mayors is urging that American cities play a more active part in the work of the International Union of Cities and that they become members in their own right in the International Union. While the central governments, of course, have major responsibility in the field of foreign relations, it is believed that city officials can contribute to the preservation of world peace by cooperation with each other in their established international organization.

Houston, University Cooperate on Police Training

An interesting experiment in cooperation between a city government and a local university was concluded recently when a pre-service police training program, conducted by the city of Houston with the cooperation of the University of Houston, resulted in the commissioning of 40 probationary patrolmen.

Fifty-eight trainees were selected by the Civil Service Commission from a large number of applicants who were subjected to a comprehensive testing program including the Otis general intelligence test, the O'Rourke police adaptability test, a rigid physical examination, a psychiatric examination and a thorough character investigation.

All trainees were enrolled in the University of Houston for the thirteen-weeks full-time course, which consisted of 48 hours per week of class work, field work and observation. The course content, determined by the Houston police department, covered all phases of a comprehensive basic police training program including patrol procedure, police tactics, traffic control, criminal law and procedure, police com-

munications and records, criminal investigation, first aid, self defense, use of police weapons, crime prevention techniques, national government, local government and applied psychology.

Inspector Lawrence D. Morrison, director of training for the Houston Police Department, served as the university's director of police training in active charge of the program. Other members of the instructional staff were drawn from the police department, the university faculty, state department of public safety, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and visiting specialists from other law enforcement organizations and educational institutions.

Representatives of the city and the university have expressed complete satisfaction with the results of the experiment and it is anticipated that similar training programs will be held in the future.

The forty probationary patrolmen who completed the training program become entitled after six months to all the rights granted under the civil service laws. Most of them are continuing their studies in the university working toward a B. S. in public administration with a major in police administration. The University of Houston is one of the very few universities in the United States which offer such a degree.

At the same time this program was conducted, the city of Houston was conducting a similar program for Negro police trainees with the cooperation of the newly established Texas State University for Negroes, which resulted in the employment of thirteen as probationary patrolmen.

DAVID W. KNEPP
University of Houston

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

Forms and Functions of Local Government

Bureaus Discuss Manager and Mayor Plans, Administration

THE council-manager plan has been recommended in recent reports on Takoma Park, Maryland, and Westerly, Rhode Island. The former, entitled *Improving the Government of Takoma Park*, by Elwyn A. Mauck, was the product of an investigation undertaken at the request of the mayor and city council by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland, Joseph M. Ray, director. The latter, a comprehensive survey by the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, Robert M. Goodrich, executive director, first appeared serially in the Westerly *Sun*.

What Type of Governing Body (twelve pages) is the third in a series of reports by the Civic Research Institute of the University of Kansas City, Robert A. McGrath, director, designed to help determine the best governmental setup for Jackson County. This report discusses partisan versus nonpartisan elections, the size and possible methods of electing the governing body.

City Manager Government in South Dakota (48 pages), by Professor William O. Farber of the University of South Dakota and director of its Governmental Research Bureau, answers such questions concerning the manager plan as its basic principles and history, evolution of city manager legislation in South Dakota, and experience with the manager plan in that state. An appendix contains South Dakota code provisions and a brief bibliography.

The experience of Spanish Fork,

Utah, in a spirited effort to combine city manager government with constitutional home rule in Utah is explored, reported and evaluated by Robert Paulsen, a graduate research fellow in political science at the University of Utah, in *Utah Experience with Home Rule*, a study sponsored by the Institute of Government, G. Homer Durham, director. The report "shows, quite definitely, the channels of safety for future charter commissions. If carefully drafted, a municipal charter under article XI, section 5, will not only afford local discretion as to form of government, but also for some local adjustments in methods and scope of operation."

To counteract widespread misunderstanding of Boston's charter change possibilities, the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, Richard A. Atkins, secretary, is distributing a helpful primer. The bureau has tabulated the available plans of government contained in the 1948 Boston charter act, their essential features, petition procedure and important dates.

"Organization Structure of Local Government, St. Louis, Missouri," is described in *Dollars and Sense in Government*, the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, Victor D. Branstrom, director. A chart presents the structure of the St. Louis municipal government and a table gives the composition of ex officio agencies.

The organization of the government of the city of Detroit, which is being reexamined by a charter study committee, is set forth in similar manner by the Bureau of Governmental Research of Detroit, Loren B. Miller, director, in its *Bureau Notes*, with an accompanying chart showing the gov-

ernment structure, including 42 elected officials.

A recent bulletin of the **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee**, Norman N. Gill, director, discusses the five separate local planning agencies and the desirability of centralizing the work of such agencies in the Board of Public Land Commissioners, the city's official planning agency.

The powers and duties of mayors in Wisconsin cities operating under the mayor-council plan are summarized in a fourteen-page mimeographed pamphlet issued by the **League of Wisconsin Municipalities**, Frederick N. MacMillin, executive secretary.

"Intergovernmental Relations and Current Problems" was the theme of the Thirteenth Annual Institute of Government, July 26-30, sponsored by the **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington**, Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Division of Adult Education and Extension Services**. According to the 23-page program issued by the university, there were sessions on police science and law enforcement, public health, county-city consolidation, community organization for local or national emergency, recreation, taxation, planning, conservation, etc.

"Staff and policy coordination of the several bodies investigating city and county government in Philadelphia is essential if constructive objectives are to be attained," according to the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, Robert K. Sawyer, director, in *Citizens' Business*. The work of three groups, the Committee of 15, the Grand Jury Investigation and the Joint State Government Commission, is discussed briefly.

A long-range survey of city departments and divisions and an immediate

study of a capital expenditure program in line with the report and recommendations of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, George Sipprell, managing director, are the purposes of a special committee to study the city's governmental and financial structure appointed by the Buffalo common council president Peter J. Crotty, according to the bureau's *Just A Moment*.

To assist councilmen in council-manager cities to determine how they can be most effective in their jobs, the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, Carter W. Atkins, executive director, has prepared a "Check-List for Self-Appraisal" containing questions which the councilman can answer and so rate himself on such topics as general objectives, the place of the councilman in the town's governmental structure, the councilman's job on the council and the councilman's job in the community.

Sanitation, Housing, Transit, Zoning and Other Matters

Garbage collection costs have been reduced in Sioux City, Iowa, since the city took over collection from private individuals, according to a bulletin from the **Woodbury County Taxpayer Conference**, James L. Barclay, executive secretary.

The **Pennsylvania Economy League Southeastern Division**, Carlton W. Tillinghast, director, has published *Refuse Collection Practices* which discusses the advantages and disadvantages of municipal, contract and private collection.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services at the University of Washington** has revised its Bulletin 91, *Garbage Collection Ordinances of Washington Cities* with an up-to-date report, *Garbage Collection in Washington Cities*.

To meet a current demand for information, Ernest Howard Campbell, assistant director of the Washington bureau, has prepared *Laws Relating to Sewers and Sewage Treatment* for cities and towns and sewer districts.

Proceedings of the Local Government Conference on Stream Pollution Control have been published by the **University of Pittsburgh Institute of Local Government**, Elmer D. Graper, director. The conference dealt primarily with the Allegheny County area.

Philadelphia has been attacking ragweed with a war-discovered chemical called 2,4-D. Since funds for this purpose are limited the Division of Housing and Sanitation should coordinate the program, says the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**.

The **Citizens Research Institute of Canada**, Eric Hardy, director, says in a recent open letter that there has been progress in housing though insufficient and that real treatment of housing must cope with fundamental problems. Figures depict the present housing activity.

The Interim Report of Committee on Standard Housing of the City Club of Portland, Margaret Clarke, executive secretary, discusses the Vanport disaster and the acute housing situation in Portland, Oregon. The report stresses the need for housing for those whose incomes are less than \$3,000. The committee suggests that the Portland city council study the problem and make plans for permanent housing.

Proposals for moderate rental public housing and tax concessions for similar private housing projects raise serious questions, according to the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.**, Merle W. DeWees, executive director. A recent report of the council observes that "originally subsidized public housing was to take care of those who could not pay for adequate housing.

Carrying the trend to the ultimate would mean that all housing would be publicly owned."

The **City Club of Portland, Oregon**, has issued its "Municipal Jail Report" which recommends new facilities. Another committee report of the club has recommended better hospital facilities.

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee** recommends that Milwaukee County, one of the first places to have a juvenile court, enact a law which would give the city a full time juvenile court judge.

"Shall Our International Airport Come of Age" is the title of a bulletin from the **Bureau of Municipal Research in Philadelphia**. The Philadelphia International Airport has cost so far \$22,500,000. Another \$10,400,000 is to be spent, but \$3,700,000 needs to be provided for in order to complete it according to present plans.

Transit Problem

Transit fares throughout the nation have been increasing because of rising operating costs says a recent bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, Alfred F. Smith, director. San Francisco has one of the lowest priced transit systems in a group of 24 cities. A later bulletin from the same bureau explains that wages for bus and streetcar operators were raised contrary to a city attorney's ruling.

Another transit problem comes from Boston where the Finance Commission charges the Boston Transit Department with mismanagement. The **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** outlines a metropolitan solution.

Parking meters are a source of revenue in many cities. The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** points out, however, that meters should be placed "where they will do the most to relieve traffic problems" rather than be

an indiscriminate device to raise revenue.

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research**, George L. Nichols, managing director, reported recently on the park and recreation costs in that city. Costs have risen primarily because of salary increases. The bureau has also issued two reports on the Schenectady fire department.

The **Institute of Local and State Government at the University of Pennsylvania**, Stephen B. Sweeney, director, has prepared a report on *Suggested Rules and Regulations for Zoning Boards of Adjustment in Small Municipalities in Pennsylvania*.

From the rezoning committee of the **Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce**, Clifford H. Anderson, chairman, comes *Studies and Recommendations in relation to the Zoning Ordinance of the City of Minneapolis*. Graphs add to the picture of the city.

The **Union City, Tennessee, Planning Commission**, A. F. Tittsworth, chairman, and the **Union City Chamber of Commerce**, Hugh W. Colville, president, have prepared an economic survey of that city—giving industrial resources.

Cost and Conduct of Public Education

State-Local Government Topics, issued by the **State Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League**, Welles A. Gray, director, attributes rising costs in rural schools to (1) increased cost of transportation and (2) increases in teachers' salaries. The burden of paying additional sums will fall upon local units which have already made new levies because state subsidies are levelling off.

According to the **Taxpayers Association of Fall River, Massachusetts**, William J. McGlone, executive director, the 1948 city school budget is \$245,381 more than it was in 1947.

The **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research**, Glenn N. Hoffman, secretary in a recent bulletin estimates the average teacher's salary there for 1947 at \$3,198.

Providence city officials are trying to buck the trend by cutting school expenditures \$470,000. According to the bulletin of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau**, Robert L. Pickup, executive director, the school system has more than enough teachers and a large enough plant but lacks organization. Nevertheless, many proposals made by school officials include closing of kindergartens, evening schools and other vital parts of the school system.

Another cause of increased educational costs—the rising birth rate—is brought out by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans**, Lennox L. Moak, executive director, in its publication *City Problems*. Diagrams depict the number of children to be educated in public and private schools.

To eliminate unnecessary school costs many states are advocating consolidation and reorganization of their school districts. Wisconsin, for example, is one of five states having more school districts than schools, says *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance**, Paul N. Reynolds, executive director.

From *School Administration in Illinois*, published by the **Illinois Legislative Council**, J. K. Isakoff, director of research, we learn that some school districts in that state possess no schools and must send children to other districts. The report stresses the importance of consolidation of districts and the basis and amount of state aid.

This is the year in which citizens of St. Louis County must reconsider school district arrangements, according to *Dollars and Sense in Government* of the **Governmental Research Institute**.

The *Preliminary Report* of the Subcommittee on Codification of School Laws of the **Nebraska Legislative Council**, Roger V. Shumate, director of research, suggests a simple system of classifying school districts into six categories based mainly on population. The "Proposed Teachers' Pension and Annuity Fund Plan" is discussed in a bulletin of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association**, A. R. Everson, executive vice president.

A report of the **Utah Foundation** discusses the problem of paying for the increased enrollment in the state's five junior colleges.

The **University of Hawaii's Legislative Reference Bureau**, Norman Meller, director, discusses the public schools and the English standard schools in Hawaii. Under present arrangements students desirous of getting in the English school must pass an oral English test. This has put a minority in the English standard school and caused some socio-economic discrimination.

"The School District Merger Plan for Allegheny County" is discussed in the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, Newsletter**. The league shows why 118 school districts have not been reduced to sixteen. Attempts are being made to get 51 districts, but even that is difficult.

Civil Service Management; Rewards of Public Employees

The **City Club of Portland, Oregon**, has published the report of its committee to investigate Portland's civil service. Recommendations include: (1) reduction in number of temporary appointments—concise examinations for permanent appointments should be given; (2) sufficient funds to be provided so that the civil service system can be continued and strengthened. The administration, organization and

management of the civil service department of the city of **Los Angeles** has been surveyed and a report submitted by the **Bureau of Budget and Efficiency**, Francis M. Cummings, director. This 159-page report with charts and tables was presented to the mayor and council with recommendations to promote economy and efficiency in the civil service department as well as in the general conduct of the city government.

Need for improvement in the civil service of **Lackawanna**, New York, still exists, according to the **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau**, James J. Kirkwood, director. In its *Comments* the bureau lists classifications made as a result of a 1943 survey and makes recommendations for action by a new commission.

Indiana University has prepared a bulletin for its students entitled *Employment in the Public Service*, 2nd edition revised, by W. Richard Lomax, which gives a general picture of public employment, the university's facilities for training for public service, and additional sources of information for those interested in government careers.

The firemen of **Philadelphia** receive attention in two recent issues of *Citizens' Business* of the **Bureau of Municipal Research**. Only New York City tops Philadelphia in the low number of work hours per week and the high average hourly pay. In these respects Philadelphia's firemen have greatly improved their status in the last two years. Philadelphia also ranks high in the number of firemen per square mile and per 100,000 population and in appropriations for fire purposes.

A Retirement System for Municipal Employees in Cities of Washington State, as established by chapter 71, Laws of 1947, is a study compiled by Donald C. Sampson, municipal research consultant of the **Bureau of Govern-**

mental Research and Services, University of Washington. It describes in detail all aspects of the retirement system available to every city in the state and gives the text of the act providing for the system, with examples of service and disability retirements and estimated costs.

Public Improvements and Local Debt Problems

Properly planned and publicized long-range programs for capital improvements are discussed by Charles L. Crangle in an address before the Tennessee Municipal League's annual convention and published in *The Tennessee Planner*, monthly publication of the Tennessee State Planning Commission, Hayden B. Johnson, executive director. Mr. Crangle, associate planning technician of the Planning Commission, presents the case for public works programming as an answer to increased demand for services by citizens in the face of mounting costs of labor and material.

The need for a long-term capital budget for the city of **Toronto** to bring about orderly financing of capital expenditures is stressed in the monthly letter of the **Bureau of Municipal Research**, Eric Hardy, director.

A long-range plan of municipal construction and repair would be beneficial to the citizens of Buffalo and is under study at the direction of the common council, according to *Just a Moment* of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**. Other issues of *Just a Moment* cite methods of financing capital improvements used in other cities in the U. S. and Canada and, in the case of Erie County, the reduction of debt by the pay-as-you-go system.

"The St. Louis Debt Picture" in *Dollars and Sense in Government*, **Governmental Research Institute**, discusses the history of the city's debt since the early 1920's, the St. Louis debt

burden compared to other cities, and poses questions concerning the effect of a possible issuance of a total of \$39,000,000 of previously authorized bonds for various public improvements.

The proposed \$2,325,000 bond issue for the city of New Haven is discussed in *Council Comment on New Haven Affairs*, a sheet published by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council**.

New GRA Secretary; Other Personal Notes

Louis D. Brown, research associate of the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research, became the new secretary of the Governmental Research Association on September 1, succeeding **G. Gordon Tegnell**, who signed to become director of research of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

Thomas J. Quinn, former assistant director of the Research Department of the New York State Chamber of Commerce, has become director of the Budget and Control of the American Arabian Oil Company with headquarters in San Francisco.

Robert E. Pickup, executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau since 1943, has moved to Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, to become director of the Northeast Division of the Pennsylvania Economic League.

Professor Winston W. Crouch of the Department of Political Science of the University of California at Los Angeles has been appointed director of the Bureau of Governmental Research at the same institution, succeeding **Professor Frank M. Stewart**, who signed the directorship to give full time to the Department of Political Science. Professor Crouch has also been appointed a member of the three-man Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Potpourri of Civic Activity

Interest in Local Affairs Continues During Summer

TAKING a cue from the politician, who is on the job always, citizen groups have continued their activities during the warm spring and summer months with almost unabated intensity.

Yonkers, New York, women, led by Mrs. Milton W. Harrison, have organized, in a series of teas and meetings in private homes, to learn how to vote more effectively. Of particular interest to the women at the moment is the proposal to abandon proportional representation as the method of electing the city's council. . . .

The Municipal League of Seattle,

A. Crosser, executive secretary, reports that its membership has now passed the 3,800 mark. The league is planning its campaign for adoption of a constitutional amendment — to be voted on at the November 2 election — to give counties home rule. . . .

The New York Citizens Union, George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, has organized a special expert committee on air pollution. It has worked out a proposed local law with the city council's majority leader which would set up a new air-pollution control bureau and give it plenty of power. . . .

The Kingston, North Carolina, Junior Chamber of Commerce has been given the first award in governmental affairs among Jaycees in that state for its successful campaign to secure the council-manager plan for Kingston, reports the local *Daily Free Press*. A. H.

Jeffress is chairman of the chamber's governmental affairs committee which put the project over. . . .

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, Yonkers councilwoman, recently addressed a group of women in **Beacon, New York**, on the council-manager plan with proportional representation—the type of government provided by Beacon's proposed charter. . . . At a meeting sponsored by the **West New York, New Jersey, Civic League**, she addressed more than a thousand persons.

The **Citizens' Association of Chicago**, Edward M. Martin, executive secretary, lists in its *Citizens' Bulletin* for June the attendance record of city councilmen, at both council and committee meetings, for the year April 1947-1948. Reported also is a review of the council's work. . . .

Following up the proposal of the Ohio Association of Cities for a unicameral legislature, the **Hamilton County Good Government League** of Cincinnati, Majority J. O'Hare, executive secretary, is urging support of the amendment and requesting members and friends to aid in the circulation of petitions to place the matter on the ballot. . . .

The speakers bureau of the **Massachusetts Civic League**, Miss Elizabeth M. Curry, chairman, has announced that it is prepared to fill engagements anywhere in the state. . . .

The **Fort Wayne Civic Association**, Lee J. Ninde, secretary, is working on an outline of a method for organizing neighborhood associations and drafting by-laws for the use of such groups. When completed they will be available for distribution without charge, the association announces.

¹See page 452, this issue.

"Citizens first, veterans second," is the slogan of the **Milwaukee Area Council of the American Veterans Committee** in its "Milwaukee Area Program—A Real Plan for Action." Subjects listed include housing, education, human rights, citizenship, cultural affairs, and legislation for such forward-looking projects as consolidation of governments and services within the area, the county manager plan and city charter revision. . . .

With the authorization of top officials of the city, the **Toledo Municipal League**, Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary, has launched a complete survey of Toledo's government. The city has pledged full cooperation but the league will bear the expense involved. . . . The league's weekly news reports to Toledo's radio stations covering city hall and related activities have won the praise of radio news editors.

Program Information Exchange, whose news sheet is edited by Florence Widutis, has merged its activities with those of the **National Planning Association's Committee on the Community**. Three members of the exchange's governing board have become members of the committee, giving it the benefit of PIE's experience.

A number of civic-minded Pittsburgh citizens have taken steps to ease the housing shortage. Headed by Roy C. Cochran of that city, they have organized the **United Foundation of U.S.A.** which hopes to sell interest-bearing bonds to the public to raise money to finance large scale building projects. The group will seek no subsidies. The foundation has issued a brochure describing its plans and objectives.

"Preventive Medicine for Philadelphia," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy**, Harry K. Butcher, secretary, should consist of: (1) city-county

consolidation, (2) a new city charter and home rule, (3) readjustment of present debt limitation and (4) consolidation of registration and election machinery. "The time is ripe," says the committee's *Civic Affairs*, commenting on recent disclosures of graft in high places, "for the forthright city leaders, the inconspicuous taxpaying and the informed voters to combine their strength and get in some line for honest, efficient government that will produce more permanent results for Philadelphia in the next session of the General Assembly."

* * *

LWV Activities

Because the **Hoboken** city commission insisted on meeting in a smoky, chairless room which did not offer space even for standing room, instead of sitting in the court room furnished with benches, the **League of Women Voters**, not long ago, came bringing its own chairs. "It may have been a coincidence," reports *Jersey Justice* which tells the story, "but the meeting was held in the court room!" . . .

One of the two items adopted by the **New York City League of Women Voters**, Mrs. Eleanor C. Neale, president, at its 1948 annual convention, states that the league "will work and urges that the mayor appoint an impartial, expert commission to be granted full powers to survey the entire field of the city's finances, its revenue and debt structure, the scope and cost of services and capital improvements, budget-making procedures, fiscal relationships with the state, economic background and future—and that the commission (a) gather facts, (b) lay down sound fiscal principles, and make specific recommendations to put them into effect." The league plans to get New York talking about the appointment of such a commission.

asks its members to begin "sowing the seeds of survey."

The **Georgia League of Women Voters**, Miss Johnnie Hilbun, president, has published its 1948-1950 "Program for Action" in its *Georgia Voter* for June. The program includes home rule for cities and counties, modernization of the election system including abolition of the poll tax and regulation of the primaries to insure fair, honest and democratic procedures; reorganization of the penal system; county consolidation; and numerous other important planks.

Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, addressed the **Atlanta League of Women Voters**, Miss Gertrude Perkins, director, on the need for city-county consolidation in the Atlanta-Fulton County area. . . . The **New York State League of Women Voters**, Mrs. Malcolm E. Cummings, president, is interested in a bill to permit permanent registration. . . . The **Ohio League**, Mrs. Frank H. Shaw, president, is organizing for a study of the Ohio constitution. . . .

* * *

No Tea Party

"Compared to dislodging Boston's entrenched politicians, the city's historic tea party was a pale, pink lemonade affair and driving out the British was a pushover," says Franklin E. Jordan in the *Christian Science Monitor*. Mr. Jordan, who was manager of the recent successful Portsmouth, New Hampshire, campaign for a council-manager charter,¹ points out the difficulties Boston civic groups with volunteer workers will face when up against the trained and organized professional politicians.

As previously reported in the REVIEW,

Boston has been given a choice of three charters. That form for which sufficient signatures are filed first will be the charter to be voted on at the November 1949 election. Choices include Plan A, mayor and council; Plan D, council-manager with the limited vote for election of the council and school board; Plan E, council-manager with proportional representation as the method of electing those bodies. The latter plan is now in effect in seven Massachusetts cities and towns.

* * *

Nobody Else Pays Your Taxes

"You can shirk other responsibilities, but you must pay your tax bills," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** in *Civic Affairs*. "When it comes to paying municipal taxes you can't 'let George do it.' George may do your voting and look after your other civic responsibilities, but you can't force him to pay your share of the tax burden. You can laugh off bad and wasteful government in Philadelphia but you must still pay the bills."

* * *

Civics in the Classroom

A **Workshop in State and Local Government in Michigan**, for teachers of civics, government and social studies, as well as for citizen groups, was held at Michigan State College July 6-23. Sponsors included the **Michigan League of Women Voters**, **Michigan Institute of Local Government**, state departments and officials, etc. D. Hale Brake was chairman. The teaching staff included state, county and city officers, teachers of government, and laymen interested in civic welfare.

As an outgrowth of the **American Political Science Association** panel on **Citizens Political Participation**, held last December, a committee of that name will be appointed to work under the chairmanship of Professor Ben A.

¹See "An Old City Goes Modern," by Franklin E. Jordan, the REVIEW, April 1948, page 188.

Arneson of Ohio Wesleyan University.

Students of Russell Sage College at Troy, New York, and other colleges participated in a mock party convention in connection with the **Seventh Annual Intercollegiate Leadership Conference** at Russell Sage College.

Buckport, Maine, high school students, after participating in a discussion of municipal government led by Town Manager L. W. O'Connor, decided to try it out on their own, reports the *New England Townsman*. They issued a warrant, which contained the usual articles, calling for a town meeting. "Ballots were prepared, competition for nominations was keen, the town meeting was held and the several officers elected. Money was raised and appropriated, and the student selectmen appointed various town officers and finally assumed management of the town for a day."

Alpena, Michigan, high school pupils recently took over their city government, reports *Public Management*. The group elected a city council which appointed a city manager who in turn appointed his subordinates. The students made a bus tour of the city after City Manager Donald M. Oakes explained the organization of the city to them.

* * *

Civic Publications

A Report on the People's Legislative Program for Kentucky (fifteen pages), attractively printed and issued by the **Committee for Kentucky**, Harry W. Schacter, president, "has as its only objective the welfare of all the people of Kentucky." A seven-page mimeographed report on *Kentucky Progress Through Legislation* reviews those measures urged in the report which were approved by the 1948 legislature.

Handbook, First Steps in Organizing State or Local Conferences on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency

(twelve pages), issued by **National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency**, Washington 25, D. C.

Better Housing for the Family (5 pages), published by the **Women's City Club of New York**, has been prepared and edited by Beatrice S. Friedman for the club's housing committee. The study is based on an analysis of interviews held with hundreds of housewives in low cost public housing units. The women were questioned as to adequacy of their present accommodations; eating, sleeping and bathroom facilities; storage space needs; etc.

Building Your Town—A Guidebook for Arkansas Community Development Committees (48 pages). *Let's Build a Better Arkansas* (sixteen pages). Attractively printed and illustrated, published by the **Arkansas Resources and Development Commission**, the **Arkansas Economic Council** and the **State Chamber of Commerce**.

Do You Know Durban's Transport Problem? (45 pages mimeographed) A research report produced at the Natal University College by W. Thornhill, and published by the **Durban South Africa, Civic Association**.

Will Home Rule Help to Develop Better Philadelphia? (four pages) was prepared by the **Joint Committee on Legislation for Philadelphia**, a nonpartisan committee representing 34 organizations and 191,000 citizens.

Progress Report on A Study of New Jersey Communities (eleven pages), conducted by the **New Jersey Citizen Conference**, Edna Howe Kuser, executive director, and prepared by James E. Downes, professor of political science at New Jersey State Teacher College.

Kentucky Voters' Guide (ten pages) prepared by Willard N. Hogan and

published by the Berea, Kentucky, Publishing Company.

What Is Your Stake in the New York State Citizens' Council? (20 pages) describes the need for the activities of the council with a liberal use of pen and ink sketches.

Recent issues of the University of Virginia's Extension Division Bulletin, *New Dominion Series*, include: "Teenage Club to Community Recreation, South Boston Boys and Girls Lead the Way"; "Front Royal Faces Forward, An Old Command Takes on New Meaning in a Virginia Town"; "Cooperation for Community Services, USO Building Meets Peacetime Needs"; and "Street Lights on Tangier, A Small Island Finds Strength in Cooperation."

Some Facts About the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) 1895-1948 (four pages), an attractive leaflet issued by the **Civic Club**, Hazelle B. Scott, assistant secretary.

What Every Knox County Citizen Should Know (60 pages), by the **League of Women Voters of Knox County, Tennessee**, has as its purpose "to promote responsibility among citizens through informed and active participation day by day." The pamphlet is based on a year's study of the government of the county by the league and "is presented to the citizens of Knox County (1) to acquaint them with their government (2) to focus attention on some needed changes of government."

Know Your State of Maine is a mimeographed report in six sections, each prepared by one or more local **Leagues of Women Voters**—Portland, Bangor, Augusta, Falmouth and Rumford—and published by the state league. Discussed are state finance, courts, the governor, the legislature, public welfare and political parties and elections.

The Nine Promises of a Good Citizen¹

1. I will vote at all elections. I will inform myself on candidates and issues and will use my greatest influence to see that honest and capable officials are elected. I will accept public office when I can serve my community or my country thereby.
2. I will serve on a jury when asked.
3. I will respect and obey the laws. I will assist public officials in preventing crime and the courts in giving evidence.
4. I will pay my taxes understandingly (if not cheerfully).
5. I will work for peace but will dutifully accept my responsibilities in time of war and will respect the Flag.
6. In thought, expression and action, at home, at school and in all my contacts, I will avoid any group prejudice, based on class, race or religion.
7. I will support our system of free public education by doing everything I can to improve the schools in my own community.
8. I will try to make my community a better place in which to live.
9. I will practice and teach the principles of good citizenship right in my own home.

¹As published by the Seattle Municipal League in its weekly *Seattle Municipal News*.

Proportional Representation . . .*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.,
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

**P. R. Adopted
for Australian Senate****Fall Referenda Proposed
in Three New York Cities**

THE proposed new election law¹ providing proportional representation for the election of the Australian Senate was enacted last May. The Senate will not as a whole be a proportionally representative body, for each of the six states of the commonwealth, regardless of population, will be entitled to ten senators and there will be six-year overlapping terms. Proportional representation with the single transferable vote (Hare system), however, will be used within each state in each of its Senate elections.

This important new use of P. R. for national elections grows out of extensive experience in two of the provinces: Tasmania, which has used the Hare system of P. R. continuously since 1907 for its House of Assembly, and New South Wales, which used it for the direct popular elections of its Legislative Assembly (lower house) from 1918 to 1926 and now uses it—since 1933—for the indirect elections of its upper house, the Senate.

According to the *People's Advocate* (Adelaide) the new law requires the voter to indicate his order of preference as to *all* the candidates on the ballot. This requirement, points out the *Advocate*, is illogical and will doubtless result in an unnecessarily high percentage of invalid ballots.

The new act increases the membership of the Senate from 36 to 60 mem-

bers and that of the House of Representatives from 75 to 120.

**Three New York Cities
May Vote This Fall**

In Beacon, New York, a little city opposite Newburgh at the upper end of the highlands of the Hudson (1940 population 12,572), a charter amendment providing for the council-manager plan, with a council of seven elected biennially by P. R. with a non-partisan ballot, has been proposed by the Beacon Taxpayers and Rentpayers Association. Petitions were circulated the end of June and, within a few days more than twice the 10 per cent of the last gubernatorial vote required to bring the matter before the city council were secured as signers.

At this writing the council has not yet acted but indications are that it will vote to submit the amendment at the general election on November 2. If it does not do so, the association is prepared to file early in September (two months after the filing of the first petition) the additional 5 per cent petition which can force the question onto the ballot under New York's city home rule law.

In Yonkers, which has used P. R. in the last five elections of its council, there is to be a vote on November 2 on its repeal. In 1942 two such questions were submitted to the people by petition by the Republican and Democratic organizations of the city. Both were defeated by a two-to-one vote. This year the petition was circulated by a group of citizens with quiet help from organization leaders, who hope that New York City's repeal of P. R. last fall will make it easier for them to

¹See the REVIEW, July 1948, page 397.

turn to organization-controlled elections in Yonkers.

The petition contained defects both in form and in the character of many of its signatures, but the city clerk and city attorney certified that in their judgment it was sufficient to start the initiative process by bringing the proposal officially to the attention of the council.

Mrs. Edith Welty, who has served as an independent member of the council ever since P. R. was adopted, led an unsuccessful fight against council action to put the question on the ballot. The other councilmen took the view that they would rather correct the petitioners' errors and put the proposal before the voters in good form than have the defective form forced on the ballot by a second petition. They passed a resolution, however, to the effect that council's action in submitting the question was not to be construed as indicating the council's attitude on the merits of the proposal. The independent forces which have secured and maintained P. R. in Yonkers are conducting an energetic defense, with all-out support from the city's leading newspaper, the *Herald Statesman*.

In New York City the American Labor party and its allies in the CIO unions and elsewhere have been circulating a petition to readopt P. R. for elections of the city council. Most of the civic forces which were active in the unsuccessful defense of P. R. last fall feel that this is a serious mistake and that the effort to regain P. R. should be deferred until the substitute district plan has had a trial and demonstrated its defects. Under a special provision of the New York charter the question can be placed on the ballot at the general election in November by a single petition with 50,000 valid sig-

natures. Such a petition has not yet been filed.

First Use of the Recall in a P. R. City

In Hamilton, Ohio, a petition has been filed for the recall of Mayor Edward Beckett as a member of the council, which would automatically remove him as mayor also. Mr. Beckett was elected to the council in 1947 on a ticket pledged to the eradication of gambling, but after election he joined forces with the three councilmen out of seven who opposed that point of view. The new coalition removed the city manager, who enjoyed a good reputation, and replaced him with a manager who has left the gambling interests unmolested.

The constitutionality of the recall provision of the charter was attacked by city officials and has now been upheld by the courts.¹ A vote will be taken at a special election, at which candidates to take Mr. Beckett's place on the council if he is recalled will also be voted for by preferential ballot. If the recall is successful the ballots will be counted by the regular Hare system rules to determine a majority choice to fill the vacancy.

This will be the first use of the recall in a P. R. city. Ordinarily the recall is not provided with P. R. because of the possibility that the majority might recall a representative of an unpopular minority still satisfactory to his constituents and replace him with an additional majority representative to which the majority was not entitled. This particular case obviously does not fall into that category. The framers of

¹The Supreme Court acted on July 28 in the case of *The State ex rel. Hackley v. Edmonds, Clerk*, No. 31409, to be recorded in vol. 150, page 203, of *Ohio State Reports*.

the Hamilton charter, acting under the advice of the late Dr. A. R. Hatton, believed that the recall machinery was not likely to be used unless a member betrayed his own constituents.

P. R. League to Meet in Boston

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held in Boston in November. As in the past, the session will be in conjunction with the Annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at the Hotel Statler, November 22-24. Further details will be announced as soon as the program has been completed.

Britain Drops Commons University Seats

The new Representation of the People Act, adopted by the British Parliament in July of this year, provides for the abolition of the nine¹ university members of the House of Commons which have, since 1918, been elected by the Hare system of P.R.

The Labor party's action was based on the fact that by virtue of those constituencies university graduates were able to exercise two votes to the ordinary citizen's one—a vote in their home precinct and another in their university constituency. One Labor party member, speaking in debate on the bill, commented that the electorate would doubtless be found to favor the principle of "one citizen, one vote."

Finland and Holland Hold Parliamentary Elections

National elections in Finland and the Netherlands drew worldwide attention

¹Formerly eleven members until the establishment of the Irish Free State, which eliminated the two members for Dublin University.

in recent months. Both countries a party list system of proportional representation.

The Finnish election, held July 1 2, not only resulted in a remarkable decline in the votes cast for candidates of the Communist-dominated Popular Democratic party but also resulted in replacement of a coalition government in which the Communists had participated by a government for which the Social Democratic party took entire responsibility and from which Popular Democrats were excluded.

The election in the Netherlands did not result in very great changes in the make-up of Parliament or of the government, but it also revealed a decided increase in the popularity of Communist candidates.

The accompanying table shows the seats obtained by the various parties in the 200-member unicameral parliament of Finland together with the net change resulting from the election as reported in the *New York Times* on July 6. The 38 Popular Democrats elected consist of 33 Communists and 5 Unity Socialists. The net change in the Popular Democratic strength has elsewhere been estimated as a loss of thirteen seats rather than eleven, because two Popular Democrats who were not reelected aligned themselves with the Popular Democrats.

Finnish Parliamentary Election
July 1 and 2, 1948

Party	Seats	Change
Agrarians	56	+
Social Democrats	55	+
Popular Democrats (Communist)	38	—
Conservatives	32	+
Swedish People's party	14	—
Liberals	5	—

The Agrarians, although the largest single party by a narrow margin, were reluctant to lead the negotiations

new government which were likely to result in a break-up of the coalition with the Communists. The Social Democrats accepted that responsibility and, when the Popular Democrats turned down the minor cabinet offices tendered to them and ominously insisted upon control of the Interior ministry (which includes the police), the Social Democratic leader, Karl A. Lagerholm, formed a government of his party alone which won the confidence of all parties except the Popular Democratic. The Social Democratic following in the cities where the Popular Democrats have most of their strength appears to have provided a strong reason for letting the Social Democratic party take charge of the new government rather than the Agrarian party, according to a report published in the *Christian Science Monitor* on July 30.

Netherlands Vote

The results of the election of July 7 in the Netherlands, together with comparable figures for the 1946 election, as reported by the Netherlands Information Bureau, are given below. These

figures refer to the 100-member lower house, which is the directly elected house of the Netherlands *States-General* (parliament).

The election was precipitated by the necessity of a two-thirds majority ratification by a new parliament of certain constitutional amendments, principally one relating to future relationships between the Indonesian states and the Netherlands under a common crown. The Christian Historical party and the party of Freedom, which had made certain reservations to their approval of the latter amendment, increased their total strength from fourteen to seventeen seats. The distribution of seats in the new lower house shows little change over the previous election, however. The only other noteworthy effect was the loss of two seats by the Communists, which corresponded to a reduction of 26.75 per cent in the number of votes cast for Communist candidates. Five new small parties appeared, but only the Catholic Action party collected enough votes to obtain a seat, while the others polled a negligible vote.

Netherlands Parliamentary Election (Lower House)

Party	Votes	Seats	1948		1946	
			Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
Catholic People's	1,531,326 (31.0%)	32	1,466,582 (30.8%)	32		
Labor	1,263,366 (25.6%)	27	1,347,940 (28.3%)	29		
Anti-Revolutionary	651,717 (13.2%)	13	614,201 (12.9%)	13		
Christian Historical	453,211 (9.2%)	9	373,217 (7.8%)	8		
Party of Freedom	391,982 (7.9%)	8	305,287 (6.4%)	6		
Communist	381,953 (7.7%)	8	502,963 (10.6%)	10		
Political Reform	117,142 (2.4%)	2	101,759 (2.2%)	2		
Catholic Action	62,337 (1.3%)	1	—	—	—	—
Smallholders'	40,936 (.9%)	—	—	—	—	—
Independent Nationalists ..	22,197 (.5%)	—	—	—	—	—
World Government.....	15,344 (.3%)	—	—	—	—	—
Revolutionary Communist..	2,224 (.1%)	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	4,933,735	100	4,711,949	100		

County and Township*Edited by Elwyn A. Martz***Petroleum County
Retains Manager***Vote to Sustain Shows Gain
in Citizen Support of Plan*

BY a vote of two to one on July 20, the residents of Petroleum County, Montana, reaffirmed their support of the manager form of government.

Petroleum County adopted the manager plan by a vote of two to one on July 21, 1942. During the six years that have passed the county's financial condition has improved appreciably.¹ Administrative costs have been reduced more than a third and total salaries for regular employees have been halved.

Certain interests became dissatisfied with the existing administration, however, because improvements which they felt should be made were not undertaken and some voters believed the manager exercised undue authority over the affairs of the county as a whole. There have been changes in the personnel of the board of county commissioners, but this did not seem sufficient to bring about the improvements which these groups proposed.

The vote on July 21, 1942, was 277 for the manager plan and 135 against. On July 20, 1948, the vote was 274 for, 119 against. Thus, there has been a slight percentage gain favorable to the manager form of government during the six years it has been in operation. This should settle the question for Petroleum County, since it is apparent that better than two-thirds of the voters are convinced of the efficiency of

¹See "Too Small to Be Efficient?" by R. R. Renne, the REVIEW, February 1947, page 78.

this more businesslike form of administration.

R. R. RENNE

Montana State College

**Two California Counties
Act on Manager Plan**

The Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors has provided by ordinance for a county manager. A board of franchise holders, meanwhile, has been holding open hearings on provisions for a proposed new county charter to be voted on in November, including a county manager proposal.

After rejecting a county manager proposal, the Alameda County, California, Board of Supervisors voted in August to create the position of "executive secretary," to be under jurisdiction and to act as liaison agent between county departments. The County Taxpayers' Association urged an "executive administrator" and voiced dissatisfaction with the board's action.

**Citizen County Welfare
Boards Studied**

Citizen Participation in Government: A Study of County Welfare Boards is a summary of a more detailed work by Dr. Helen E. Martz under direction of the Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research of Bryn Mawr College.

Dr. Martz studied seventeen, or one-fourth, of the county boards of assistance in one unnamed state, basing her selection on: (1) population, (2) population data such as economic and social characteristics; and (3) industrial character.

¹Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1948. 63 pages, \$1.

ification, representing counties having good, fair and poor board administration as judged by state agency officials.

The author points out that students of political science long have emphasized the importance of citizen participation in government. The federal government secured citizen participation during the late war on local rationing, price control and selective service boards. It long has been assumed that citizen boards serve two important functions: to interpret the program to the community and to impose community opinion on the administrator. Dr. Martz's study attempts to secure objective data on these points by using county welfare boards as her subject matter.

The data she collected tend to substantiate the opinion that citizen boards are effective in interpreting community opinion to the administrator but appear to be relatively ineffective in interpreting the program to the community.

To establish her first point, Dr. Martz reveals that board members are intensely interested in their activities. Attendance at meetings is high and the frequency of meetings indicates that an extensive amount of time is given to this work. Board members serve a relatively long term in office and there are comparatively few resignations.

Although appointment to the boards may represent some repayment for political favor, the goal, "to keep politics out," seems to be adhered to strictly. Board members appear to receive no political gain or financial compensation for their work. A personal sense of satisfaction and possible gain of prestige are apparently their only compensation.

The boards exert a tremendous influence on county and state administration and on the state legislature as

to laws and regulations regarding responsibility of relatives, residence requirements, restrictions on the objects for which moneys can be spent, etc.

On the other hand, the author found practically no evidence that board members appeared before public meetings to discuss welfare programs or used the radio or newspapers for this purpose. They did not establish publicity committees, nor did they participate in inter-agency committees or councils of social agencies in the community.

The extent to which they engaged in informal day-by-day interpretations of welfare policies to their neighbors, business associates and friends could not, of course, be revealed by the type of study undertaken. The great interest shown by board members would indicate, however, that interpretation of the administration's point of view was transmitted to the community by this means.

Value of Boards

The author believes that professional social workers are not sufficiently aware of the value of community citizens boards in interpreting administration policy to the people. She believes they should supply data which can be used easily for speeches at community gatherings or clubs, for radio addresses, or in articles which board members might prepare.

The author discusses lay board interference in technical problems of administration. She finds evidence to substantiate the theory that they are inclined to invade the province of the expert and make decisions in areas in which they have no technical competence. She investigated especially the fields of personnel matters and determination of eligibility for assistance.

Personnel was discussed at 85 per cent of the board meetings. Board

members were zealous in this matter and took action on many technical details. They were inclined to overlook the problem of developing a broad policy because of their preoccupation with individual cases. The author was especially critical of the procedure whereby the boards constituted the review agency to consider appeals from personnel actions which they, themselves, had decided. There were many instances in which board members accepted complaints or communications directly from staff members or conferred with them without the consent or knowledge of the county welfare director, thus weakening the line of responsibility and direction.

As to eligibility for public assistance the board likewise showed great devotion to duty. Three of every four meetings were concerned with review of individual cases. Although the use of case situations to assist in determining broad policy was recognized as valuable, the author discovered that board members tended to focus attention exclusively on individual cases, making decisions without regard to all the facts in the case or to existing agency policies or standards. Their sympathies or biases frequently became determining factors.

Citizen county welfare boards thus showed both strength and weakness. But the author believes public welfare administration is undergoing a transitional period from the old poor relief philosophy to the newer idea of social security. With increased delegation of technical matters to administrators, she believes that citizen county welfare boards will find their proper place in interpreting policies both to the professional social worker and to the community.

More News on City-County Cooperation

Recently the Dunn County, Wisconsin, board voted in favor of a plan that would give the county joint ownership with the city of Menomonie of the hospital now owned exclusively by the city. The county will pay half the value of the hospital and half the cost of further improvements. The hospital will be managed by a board of two persons appointed by the county, two appointed by the city and one appointed jointly by the mayor of the city and the chairman of the county board.

In Connecticut, the borough of Southington was consolidated with the town (township) in which it was located. A similar consolidation was effected by the city of Stamford and the town of which it was a part.

In Florida, the people of DeSoto County will vote soon on a plan to consolidate the county and the city of Arcadia.

The Louisville Area Development Association has appointed a committee to study consolidation in Louisville and Jefferson County.

The Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors has appointed a committee to investigate the feasibility of consolidating all police agencies in the county into a single system.

Hamilton County, Ohio, and Cincinnati have been authorized to establish a consolidated sewage disposal system.

Additional city-county consolidations have taken place in Lapeer and Ingham County, Michigan; Omaha and Douglas County, Nebraska; and Bellingham and Whatcom County, Washington.

In Texas, Gregg County and the city of Longview are cooperating in building an annex, costing more than

half million dollars, to the Gregg Memorial Hospital.

New York County Law Commission Reports

The New York Temporary State Commission to Study, Codify, Revise and Make Uniform, so Far as Practicable, Existing Laws Relating to Counties recently issued its fourth interim report.¹ The commission was created at the suggestion of the governor to revise the laws relating to counties and to extend more home rule to them. A major purpose was to avoid the necessity and expense of large numbers of local bills in the state legislature.

During its first year, the commission held 39 hearings in various parts of the state. The second year was devoted to drafting the suggestions collected into a new law. The proposed law was subjected to extensive hearings and much intensive study in which many state and county officials participated. The bill finally was submitted in its revised form to the state legislature in 1948, but no attempt was made to pass it. It is to be carefully considered in the 1949 session, at which time it is hoped that a long needed revision of the state's county law will be adopted.

The report is divided into four parts: (1) explanation of activities of commission and arrangement of report; (2) historical development of the county as a political unit; beginning with the county in England before the Roman invasion, it traces county government down through the creation of counties in New York State; (3) probable effects of the proposed law on county government; (4) tables indicating the procedure necessary in repealing numerous laws, enacting others and, in

general, organizing logically arranged codes for all laws affecting county government in the state.

Maryland Extends Powers of Six Counties

Among the laws passed by the 1947 session of the Maryland legislature is one of limited scope but which, it is hoped, will be gradually expanded until it gives substantial powers to all Maryland counties. At present, it applies to only six.

The act authorizes counties to acquire and dispose of property by the usual methods, to grant franchises, provide for appointment and removal of county officers not otherwise provided for, fix the salary of all appointed officers and employees, allow for expenses of designated officers, establish a merit system for all officers and employees not designated in the constitution or general laws, provide for pensions and group insurance, establish a system for prompt collection of taxes, regulate trailer and tourist camps outside incorporated areas, publish official proceedings and reports, require proof on claims against the county, establish competitive bidding, record and index specified records, prevent nuisances and health hazards, provide for road and sidewalk improvements, fix allowances for care of prisoners, and establish a county police system.

Glynn County's Judiciary System

The new court system in Glynn County, Georgia, received its first electoral test this year, when the voters approved the record of the judge. Glynn is a southeastern coastal county of 21,920 population. Brunswick, one of Georgia's chief seaports, is the county seat.

¹Legislative document (1948) No. 37, 62 pages.

The Glynn County plan was sponsored in 1943 by its representatives in the General Assembly. By a constitutional amendment, the then existing city court of Brunswick, all justice courts, offices of the justice of peace, offices of the notary public and ex officio justice of peace in Glynn County were abolished; the present city court of Brunswick was then established by statute, with civil and criminal jurisdiction "over and throughout the whole county of Glynn," effective January 1, 1945.

The plan proposes to remove the judge as far as possible from politics by making it unnecessary for him to place himself under obligation to any political or economic group. It is based on the principle of making the city court judge continuously responsible to the Glynn County electorate and has been described as a plan which "revolves around a sort of referendum-and-recall principle."

The statute provided that the first judge be appointed by the governor "by and with the advice and consent of senate" for a four-year term. At the end of the first term the incumbent, if he desires to remain in office, is required to run against his record. If he receives a majority of the votes cast, he stays in office four years more without having any further opposition. A defeat on his record means that a special election must be called in which candidates may qualify and run. Should the incumbent receive a negative vote on his record, the statute does not bar him from becoming a candidate in the special election.

The judge may be impeached for misfeasance or malfeasance in office. Impeachment charges are preferred by the grand jury. The trial is held before the superior court of Glynn County and conducted under the rules

governing the trials of misdemeanors. During the impeachment trial which like the city court of Brunswick, held at the Glynn County court house, the judge is suspended.

Another provision is the retirement of any judge who serves for an uninterrupted period of twenty years and has attained the age of 65. Upon retirement he becomes judge emeritus of the city court, and receives a pension of \$250 per month. His chief duties then are to preside in the absence of disqualification of the regular judge.

On June 22, 1948, Judge W. C. Little, the first city court judge appointed, went before the electorate on his record. He received 902 affirmative votes and 38 opposition. Under the statute he was thereby reelected for another term without opposition, and a special election will not be held.

Public opinion in Glynn County highly approves this new plan. The members of the Brunswick Bar Association have complimented the system as a great improvement over the old method of an open election every four years. Although the plan is not a guarantee against political corruption, it does create a challenge for the interested vote. Georgians interested in good government and the improvement of the judicial system in the counties of the state are watching with much pride the successful operations of the Glynn County experiment.

LYNWOOD M. HOLLAND
Emory University, Georgia

**Greeley County, Kansas,
Centralizes School Districts**

Greeley County, Kansas, a rural county of 1,755 persons, has taken another step to make the county the primary governmental unit of the area. Its latest move is the centralization of its twelve common school districts into a single unit elementary school district.

embracing the entire county. The community high school district covering the entire county has been in existence for many years.

As a result of the latest consolidation, Greeley County is the only county in the state possessing a completely centralized school system. The high school is located in the county seat, but grade schools will continue to be maintained in the two incorporated towns and in rural areas wherever they are necessary.

In 1932 the county established a library system to serve its entire area. A county-unit road system was adopted in 1945. In the following year the county established a county hospital. There is also a county cemetery. Consequently, the centralization of the elementary school system constitutes the logical culmination of the trend toward the reduction of the number of units of local government in Greeley County.

Missouri County Moves Toward School Consolidation

Jasper County, Missouri, has been authorized by special legislation to reorganize its school districts. The law requires that the county superintendent of schools must, within 90 days after July 16, call a meeting of the 390 school board members, representing the county's 112 school districts, to elect a six-member county board of education.

The latter body must prepare a plan of reorganization within six months. If the plan is rejected by the state department of education, a new plan must be submitted within 60 days, but if it, too, is rejected, the county board can submit a plan directly to the voters. Any state-approved plan must also be submitted to the voters.

After county adoption of a plan, the voters in each proposed enlarged district have the opportunity to accept

or reject their portion of the plan. If rejected, the county board must submit a new proposal for that area in not less than one year nor more than two.

Recent Happenings in Texas Counties

The commissioners of Colorado County, Texas, have voted to adopt a salary basis and discard the fee system for compensating county officers.

A recent convention of the South Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association adopted a resolution requesting that, in the future, any legislation increasing county expenditures should first be subject to referendum in the counties affected.

Despite current inflated prices, Travis County, Texas, recently bought a piece of real estate for ten cents. A highway construction project was found just to "nick" a person's property, and calculations showed the owner was entitled to ten cents compensation. The county allowed an additional \$4.90 for expenses, and all parties expressed complete satisfaction.

County Officials Meet

The National Association of County Officials held its twelfth annual convention this year in Jacksonville, Florida. Next year it will meet in Oakland, California.

The Wisconsin County Highway Commissioners' Association and the Wisconsin County Highway Committee-men's Association met jointly this summer to attend a three-day road school and conference on current highway construction programs.

The registers of deeds, clerks of circuit court and treasurers of Wisconsin counties also held a joint convention in June, as did the County Veteran Service Officers. Another convention of Wisconsin county officials during the month of June was on the subject of the county hospital program.

Taxation and Finance . . .*Edited by Wade S. Sn*

Cities Still Seek New Revenues

Need Funds for Increased Prices, Expanded Programs

ANY long continued scrutiny of literature on local government reveals that since the end of the war the subject of local revenue has received more attention than at any time since the dark days of the early 1930's. Where during the earlier period the concern was to secure revenues adequate to meet minimum needs, however, present concern is to develop additional revenues to finance enlarged budgets to meet inflationary price and pay structures and expanded local programs.

The attitude of the citizen or taxpayer as well as of the local official also appears to have changed over the period. "Tax reduction," a slogan rampant at the local level during and after the depression, is now flaming mainly at the level of national politics, and there is considerable evidence that the taxpayer as a citizen of local government is more concerned with services and objectives than with taxes.

In a recent Gallup poll, for example, in which citizen reaction to major city problems was sought, "high taxes" as a city problem could rank no better than third in cities of 10,000 to 100,000 population; fourth in one city group, over 500,000 population; and did not finish among the first five "problems" in the other two size-groups. Housing and traffic shared first and second place in three of the groups, and in the fourth group traffic and lack of parks, playgrounds, etc., stood first and second respectively.

It is significant also that many of

the new taxes imposed by local governments during recent years have been adopted with the approval, or at least without the active opposition, of business and civic groups traditionally opposed to new or higher taxation.

In Seattle, for example, a system of city business licenses and sales taxes was adopted with negligible opposition because of the obvious necessity of providing adequate income for governmental purposes, while sales taxes in numerous large California cities were adopted with local business support. True, the sales tax has always been more popular with business interests than, say, an increase in property taxes, but at the local level even quiescence to its imposition is significant of a change in attitude.

In sheer numbers, the instances of new local excises is highly impressive. On the West Coast, city sales taxes are in effect not only in Seattle but also in Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, Oakland and upwards of smaller California cities.

City income taxes, until recently limited to Philadelphia and Toledo, have been given a tremendous impetus by enactment last year of Pennsylvania's Act 481, which gave local units in the state extraordinarily broad revenue-raising powers. At June 15, 1948, there were no less than 44 local income tax measures in effect under the act, the largest city affected being Scranton. (The Philadelphia authorization, of course, antedates Act 481).

In addition, city income taxes have been enacted this year in Columbus, Youngstown, and Springfield, Ohio, and Louisville, Kentucky. The St. Louis income tax has been reenacted under a new statute expected to forestall

difficulties which invalidated the
levy.

The sales and income levies provide
only spectacular newspaper copy
also very large revenues, but more
income sources are also being
explored profitably at the local level.
Service charges, especially for waste
refuse removal and disposal, have
a widespread vogue. In Texas to-
it is a rare city which does not
st a "self-supporting" sanitary sewer
tem, although candor compels the
mission that in most instances water
works income is used to supplement
sewer service charge.

The traffic problem, which ranked so
high in the estimation of the Gallup
respondents, has been the beneficiary
some time of generally lucrative re-
venues from parking meters, although
device has apparently been out-
by constitutional amendment in
orth Dakota.

Such special services as airports,
a drain on local governmental
venues, are being slowly brought onto
sounder basis and, with the imposi-
on of flight and other airline charges
equitable to the airport's municipi-
l owners and the development of
n-flight income from concessions and
ervices, most of the larger municipal
lids now have income at least suf-
ficient to pay out-of-pocket operating
sts.

Many of the long established and
ditional sources of local revenue are
having their productivity in-
creased, sometimes through a more
hard-boiled attitude on the part of local
icials.

Roanoke, Virginia, for instance, re-
cently had occasion to consider the re-
newal of a twenty-year transportation
anchise. In 1946 the best the city
council could suggest was that the city
ceive 3 per cent of the operator's

gross income, with the city itself to
pay for removal of street car tracks
abandoned because of conversion to
buses. The new franchise, effective
January 1, 1949, will give the city, in
return for permitting a fare increase,
5 per cent of the gross income from
operations within the city and 1 per
cent from operations of intercity lines.
The city will also receive half of any
earnings by the company in excess of
6 per cent on the company's capital
investment. The latter penalty pro-
vision is designed to insure fares which
will yield the operator no more than
6 per cent.

Federal Highway Aid Continued

The second session of the 80th Con-
gress, which adjourned last June, was
about as notable from the municipal
standpoint for the things it did not
do as for what it accomplished. Fore-
most perhaps among these negative
victories for the cities was the failure
to accede to the urgings of tax reduc-
tion proponents that the federal-state-
local highway aid program be cur-
tailed to a \$350,000,000 per year level.
The municipalities urged that \$500,-
000,000 annually be appropriated, and
Congress "compromised" at \$450,000,000
for each of the fiscal years ending 1950
and 1951. The balance of 1944 appro-
priations was made available through
the fiscal year ending 1949. The federal
grants will be matched by state and
city funds.

Congress also made a cautious re-
entry into the water pollution and
sanitation field, which had last been
the subject of large-scale federal inter-
est during the PWA and WPA days of
the 1930's when sanitation and water
pollution received major federal assis-
tance. A five-year program was author-
ized entailing grants and loans for plan-

ning and building sewage treatment plants needed to abate or prevent water pollution. The annual authorization (no appropriation has yet been made) is to be \$1,000,000 for grants and \$22,500,000 for loans. Grants will be made up to \$20,000 to meet one-third of the planning cost, and loans will be made up to \$250,000 to meet one-third of construction costs on any individual project. Loans will bear interest at 2 per cent.

The federal airport aid program, which was not disturbed by Congress, has so far involved a large number of applications but relatively little money. Through June 30, 1948, 455 new projects and expansions had been approved, involving \$38,721,000 of state and municipal funds and \$35,098,000 of federal aid. Hence, as compared with a possible \$100,000,000 made available under the program, Congress appropriated less than \$40,000,000 to meet requirements in the 1949 fiscal year. There is said to be a backlog of applications pending involving about \$210,000,000.

In Rem Foreclosure for New Jersey

Statutory authority for the use of proceedings *in rem* for the foreclosure of real property tax liens has been enacted by the 1948 New Jersey legislature. The procedure prescribed, which is permissive rather than mandatory, will permit foreclosure 45 days after the filing of the petition in the court of chancery and publication of the notice of sale.

Foreclosure proceedings *in rem*, which are the recommended type of proceedings for property tax lien foreclosure in the *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law* of the National Municipal League, generally are much more economical to the taxing unit than are

proceedings *in personam*. This writer recalls that in the early 1930's an official of a northern New Jersey told with justifiable pride of how his city had, by consolidating foreclosure actions, reduced the cost of foreclosures from an average of about \$600 per parcel to about \$65 per parcel, the high cost being prohibitive whereas the lower cost permitted the city to retain much property to taxpaying status after foreclosure and sale. With proceedings *in rem* available, the cost of foreclosures will show another spectacular reduction.

Louisville Award Goes to San Diego's Comptroller

The 1948 Louisville Award of Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada was given to John McQuilken, city auditor and comptroller of San Diego, California. Given annually for outstanding service and accomplishment by a public finance officer, the award was established with a grant from the city of Louisville, Kentucky. The 1948 award was based on Mr. McQuilken's work in developing a comprehensive system of accounting procedures, including classification, forms, manuals of procedure and reports.

Achievement awards went to Portland, Maine, for improvements in budget preparation and control, pay administration, planning and reporting, to Montreal, for the technical aspects of its debt refinancing program. Awards were announced at the association's 1948 annual conference, held in Denver in June.

Connecticut Tax Study Started

A special state tax commission, authorized by the legislature to study

(Continued on page 468)

Books in Review

Municipal Year Book 1948. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and Frederick C. Peitzsch. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1948. x, 558 pp. \$8.50. (\$9 if remittance does not accompany order.)

This creditable and unique volume gets more massive, complete and authoritative every year, and this is its fifteenth. It provides as of December 1, 1947, statistics re the 2,042 American cities of over 5,000 population, their forms of government, officials, retirement systems, their financial methods and the trends of management in each typical municipal department in 1947.

No such orderly assemblage of information about our cities existed as recently as twenty years ago. Now we have the pamphlets on administrative problems of the Public Administration Service, the informational services of the ICMA and—this annual review of the progress of the year and the tables of facts. Municipal administration is thus become a science with an increasingly adequate array of scientific literature!

Among the many new features of the volume are data on new taxes in cities over 5,000, personnel organization, airport management and revenues, cemetery management, sewer service charges, taxicab regulation, and certain fire and police information. Features brought up to date include municipal salaries and a directory of officials, state-administered retirement systems of local employees, police and fire department data and salaries, number of employees with payroll, hours, methods of overtime pay, and city planning data.

Administrative Reflections from World War II. By Luther Gulick. University, Alabama, University of

Alabama Press, 1948. xii, 139 pp. \$2.50.

With his characteristic terse lucidity, Dr. Gulick recites the experience with our vast wartime crop of alphabetical agencies, an experience in which he was repeatedly called in as adviser or installer. His appraisals of what hasty devices of administration were found sound are authoritative. Among them is his first conclusion, "The American governmental system was found to be fully adequate for the management of the war," in contrast to the German system where fiascs from the top stood uncorrected by any continuous backflow of free criticism from the ranks in the field. Our conduct of the war was the bulkiest administrative adventure in history and, as so often happens, bigness, complexity and haste provide the best and most numerous disclosures of principles.

The book reinforces belief in citizen action even in administration and the absolute need for widespread citizen support for the executive's direction of administration.

Amazingly, you can read the book in an hour!

R. S. C.

Financing Municipal Off-Street Parking Facilities. By Miner B. Phillips and Irving Tenner. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1948. vi, 65 pp. \$2.50.

Discusses and analyzes principles of finance, accounting and budgeting as applicable to off-street parking facilities and describes actual experience and proposed plans of 109 U. S. and Canadian cities with fringe parking lots, methods of financing and operating parking lots and garages, and fees charged for parking. Information given is based on questionnaires sent to all

cities in the U. S. and Canada which owned or operated such facilities or proposed to do so.

Know Hamilton County. Edited by Mrs. Reginald C. McGrane. Cincinnati, League of Women Voters, 1948. 36 pp.

A very competent-looking description of the government of Hamilton County, Ohio, and what is wrong with its design. It lifts the veil of obscurity from the county government but leaves the mystery as to how such a neglected ramshackle mechanism can work at all. Strictly local in its material but the picture is typical and a good model for all such manuals.

Guide to Politics in Massachusetts. By Political Science Students. South Hadley, Massachusetts, Mt. Holyoke College, 1948. 24 pp., pocket-size. 15 cents.

This tightly written manual tells a Massachusetts voter all he needs to know to perform his duties of citizenship in respect to federal, state and county government, including participation in the functioning of the political parties and the use of the initiative. To Professor Victoria Schuck's students who did this highly creditable job, our congratulations!

New York: The World's Capital City. By Cleveland Rodgers and Rebecca B. Rankin. New York 16, Harper & Brothers, 1948. xviii, 398 pp. \$5.

A fluent, informal and readable account, well packed with facts and wise interpretations, of the history of New York City from the discovery of the harbor in 1524 by Verrazzano (Hudson came later!) to the capstone of its growth—the coming of the United Nations to 48th Street.

County Data Book. By Morris B. Ullman. Washington, D. C., U. S. De-

partment of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. xiii, 431 pp. \$2.75.

This volume, a supplement to the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, presents some of the more important social and economic facts about each of 3,050 counties and 49 areas of other types treated as counties, together with a summarization of the data for each of the 138 metropolitan areas in the country made up of whole counties. Maps for all the states show county boundary lines.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Municipal and Governmental Accounting (second edition). By Carl H. Chatters and Irving Tenner. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. xiv, 593 pp. \$6.65.

Assessing

Assessment Administration 1947. Papers Presented at the Thirteenth National Conference on Assessment Administration, Miami Beach, Florida, December 1-4, 1947. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1947. ix, 113 pp. \$2.

Congress

Congress in Action. How a Bill Becomes a Law . . . in Words, Pictures and Staged. By George H. E. Smith and Floyd M. Riddick. Washington D. C., National Capitol Publishers Inc., 1948. 87 pp. 75 cents (discount on quantity orders).

Directories

Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials 1948-49. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 68 pp. \$3.

GRA Directory of Organizations as Individuals Professionally Engaged in Governmental Research, 1948-1949. Ne-

York, Governmental Research Association, 1948. 48 pp. \$1.50.

National Conference of Judicial Councils—Directory of Member Councils. Newark, New Jersey, 1948. 53 pp.

Public Administration Organizations.

A Directory of Unofficial Organizations in the Field of Public Administration in the United States and Canada 1948. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1948. xi, 216 pp. \$3.

State Lawmakers Directory (and Members of the National Congress) to May 1, 1948. By Vance Muse. Houston, Texas, 1948. 68 pp. \$10. (Apply to author, Lock Box 6614, Houston.)

Hospitals

A Study of Hospital Administration. By Frank Hart and A. J. Waldegrave. Published under the auspices of The Institute of Public Administration. London, Stevens & Sons Limited, 1948. ix, 188 pp. 15s.

Housing

Housing in America. Its Present Status and Future Implications. A Factual Analysis of Testimony and Studies. Prepared for Joint Committee on Housing Pursuant to H. Con. Res. 104. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. v, 178 pp.

Housing of the Nonwhite Population 1940 to 1947. By U. S. Housing and Home Finance Agency. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. 13 pp. 15 cents.

The Housing Situation—The Factual Background. Washington, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1948. Variously paged.

Judiciary

Rules Governing the Courts of the State of New Jersey. Effective September 15, 1948. Newark, New Jersey, Soney & Sage Company, 1948. v, 436 pp.

Military Government

American Military Government in Germany. By Harold Zink. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947. 272 pp. \$4.

Parking

Commercial Parking in Residential Areas. A Transitional Use under Zoning. By Seward H. Mott and Max S. Wehrly. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1948. 8 pp. \$1.50.

Personnel

You and Your Job with the City of Baytown, Texas. Baytown, City Manager's Office, 1948. 32 pp.

City Employment in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 38 pp.

Planning

Aerial Photography in Urban Planning and Research. By Melville C. Branch, Jr., Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948. 150 pp. illus. \$3.

Metropolitan Plan Greater Winnipeg. Annual Report for the Year 1947. Winnipeg, Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, 1948. 36 pp. illus.

Framingham: Your Town Your Problem. Prepared by Planning Students in the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University. Report compiled and edited by Arthur T. Row, Jr., Louis P. Dolbeare and Judith Tannenbaum. Cambridge, Harvard University, Department of Regional Planning, 1948. 61 pp. illus.

How Big Will Richmond Grow? Richmond, Virginia, City Planning Commission, 1948. 8 pp. illus.

Local Planning Administration (second and revised edition). Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1948. xiii, 337 pp. \$7.50.

Planning As a Solution to State and Local Problems. Proceedings of the Section on Planning, 12th Annual In-

stitute of Government, 1947. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1948. 78 pp.

Shopping Centers—Look Before You Leap! By J. C. Nichols. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, June 1948. 4 pp.

Population Statistics

A Chapter in Population Sampling. By the Sampling Staff, Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office. vi, 141 pp. \$1.

Estimates of Future Long-Term Trend of Population Growth in the Philadelphia-Camden Industrial Area 1950-2000. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1948. 20 pp. tables.

Internal Migration in the United States: April 1940 to April 1947. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 29 pp.

Public Welfare

Community Organization for Health and Welfare Services. A Selected Bibliography of Publications in 1947. By Margaret M. Otto, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. 16 pp. 20 cents.

Race Relations

"To Secure These Rights" in Your Community. A Manual for Discussion, Fact-Finding and Action in State and Local Communities. Chicago 15, American Council on Race Relations, 1948. xii, 59 pp. 50 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Refuse Disposal

Refuse Disposal Practice: A Bibliography. Compiled by the Joint Reference Library. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1948. 10 pp. \$1.

Rural Life

American Rural Life. A Textbook in Sociology. By David Edgar Lindstrom.

New York, The Ronald Press Company 1948. xv, 385 pp. \$4.

Taxation and Finance

British Block Grants and Central Local Finance. By Reynold E. Carlson. Baltimore 18, The Johns Hopkins Press 1947. 222 pp. \$2.50.

Efficiency Tax Administration — the Sine Qua Non of Tax Equity. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, April 1948. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Financial Statistics of Municipal Governments in Canada 1944. Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Public Finance Branch, 1948. 41 pp.

Historical Review of State and Local Government Finances. By Wylie Kilpatrick and Robert F. Drury, assisted by Josef Berolzheimer. Washington D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 41 pp.

Revised Summary of State and Local Government Finances in 1942. By Wylie Kilpatrick and Robert F. Drury. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 31 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 464) the Connecticut tax structure and make recommendations for its improvement, has declared adherence to two objectives: to reduce taxes as much as possible and to adjust tax loads so that Connecticut will continue in a favorable competitive position with other states. The commission will study the relationship and combined effect of state and city taxes on individuals and industry, but its recommendations will be limited to changes in the tax structure of the state government.

The commission of nine members, headed by Roswell Magill, of Westport, Connecticut, professor of taxation at Columbia University, who is chairman. Consultant to the committee is John F. Sly of Princeton University.